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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RUNAWAY ADOLESCENTS: ALIENATION FROM PARENTS AND SELF

BY

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF SCIENCE

IN

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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submitted by .....SANDRA MARGARET MARSHALL.....
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF SCIENCE in FAMILY STUDIES.

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ABSTRACT

Runaway adolescents have become a rapidly increasing phenomenon in North American society. Various reasons have been postulated for this rapid increase; from family structural breakdown to family internal breakdown to cultural stresses and strains upon the family and adolescent. It is possibly an interrelationship of these three factors which may influence an adolescent to run away.

Developmental theory within a systems framework was utilized to provide an understanding of the influence of the adolescent stage upon the family dynamics. The degree of parental adjustment, cultural conditions and adolescent developmental demands as well as the previous success the adolescent has had in fulfilling developmental needs influence the parent-adolescent relationship and act to support or hinder an adolescent's fulfillment of his need structure, particularly needs of independence and identity. The literature review suggests that if these needs are not met the adolescent may experience a psychological state of alienation. The behavioral manifestation of this alienation may be in part dependent upon personality characteristics of the adolescent.

The purpose of this research is to compare three sample groups of adolescents with differing propensities to run away from home, as to possible social-structural contributors to alienation, specifically family environmental factors of control, discipline, acceptance, parental disposition and communication. These factors were measured using Nye's Family Relationship scales (1958). To determine whether personality characteristics may be an influencing factor in directing alienation into runaway behavior, the three groups of adolescents were compared

using Gough's adjective check list (1965).

The research sample was obtained from three sources. Nonrunaways and a small percentage of runaways were obtained from two Edmonton public schools. The remaining runaways were obtained from an adolescent treatment center as well as a counseling agency for runaways and their parents. The adolescents were divided into three groups: runaways, adolescents strongly desiring to run away but who had not and adolescents who had never desired to run away.

It was predicted that runaways and those strongly desiring to run away might both exhibit feelings of alienation and would thus report similiar family environmental characteristics. However, it was suggested that runaways would exhibit differences in self perceived personality characteristics with these differences acting as a contributor to runaway behavior.

An exploratory, ex post facto design characterized this research. Cross tabulation was utilized to provide a descriptive analysis of family environmental factors. To compare adolescents as to self perceived personality characteristics, a one-way analysis of variance was used. The small sample size demanded a descriptive analysis.

Research results generally offer support for the prediction that social structural factors which advance alienation may characterize runaways and those with a desire to run away. Variables of control, discipline, punishment, parental disposition and communication were found to differentiate runaways and nonrunaways-with-a-desire-to-run from those with no desire to run away, with generally a more restrictive environment characterizing the first two groups. Acceptance of and by parents generally showed little variation between groups, especially for

females. Thus, possibly cultural impingements and adolescent developmental demands may be creating greater strain for parents of runaways and those with a strong desire to run. Confusion may exist as to the amount of control and punishment to provide the adolescent in today's society. As well, the changing needs and demands of the adolescent, may act as a threat to family stability. A restrictive, authoritarian environment, which this research finds associated with runaways holds the most likelihood for providing a threat to stability as well as inhibiting an adolescent's needs for independence and identity.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

The once idealized, romantic picture of the adolescent runaway as a Mark Twain character out to seek adventure has changed. In the words of Senator Birch Bayh (1973), chairman of the subcommittee on juvenile delinquency, "Unlike Mark Twain's era, running away today is a phenomena of our cities. Most runaways are young, inexperienced and suburban kids who run away to major urban areas ... they often become the easy victims of street gangs, drug pushers and hardened criminals. Without adequate shelter and food they are prey to a whole range of medical ills from upper respiratory infection to venereal disease."

Canadian statistics concerning the extent of runaway behavior are scarce. Up until recently runaway behavior has been a neglected area, both in terms of theoretical research and provision of support for the runaway and his or her family. The halfway houses and agencies found in the United States which provide counseling and aid to runaway youth as well as a basis for research samples have yet to make a major emergence in Canada. Informal statistics available suggest that the problem is extensive and increasing rapidly. The Edmonton Police (Edmonton Journal, 1978) report that over a two year span, from 1976 to 1978, the number of missing adolescents reported has tripled. The Youth Squad of the Vancouver Police Department (Canadian Welfare Council Report, 1969) reported that at any one time they have approximately 350 young persons under 18 who are reported as missing or runaways. In 1968/69 the Child Welfare

Division of the British Columbia Department of Social Welfare arranged for the return of approximately 790 children to their homes, more than double the number involved in 1966/67 (Canadian Welfare Council Report, 1969).

Cull and Hardy (1971) suggest that runaway adolescents have become an epidemic problem. In the United States the number of officially reported runaways has been increasing throughout the 1970's (Bayh, 1973). The Bayh committee offered as a conservative estimate that one and a half million children run away from home each year in the United States.

A study by the National Center for Health Statistics (1975) indicates that roughly one out of ten American youths, aged twelve to seventeen have run away from home at least once, defining running away as "leaving or staying away on purpose knowing you would be missed and intending to stay away from home at least for some time." The figures reported previously are underestimated since they do not include institutionalized youths, many of whom are confined for running away. Lerman (1971) reports that running away from home is the most common offense for which children are confined in juvenile institutions and detention homes. A 1969-1971 Canadian study of children admitted to Child Welfare Institutions (Canadian Welfare Council Report, 1972) in Canada cited runaway behavior to be the second most prevalent reason for children to be admitted. As well, females were found to run away more than twice as frequently as males. Runaway behavior characterized 68.9% of institutionalized females and 24.3% of the males.

Traditionally, running away was seen as a problem primarily of the lower socioeconomic classes, occurring almost exclusively in disorganized slum neighbourhoods (Armstrong, 1932). Today we find that running away

is a problem equally common at all levels of society. Repeated runaways, in fact, have been suggested to be most frequently from families in the middle to upper categories of income (Shellow, 1967).

The study of runaway adolescents, in an attempt to understand their behavior, has focused on variables of peer influence (English, 1973), school pressures (Goldmeier, 1973), personality traits (Hildebrand, 1968), broken homes (Shellow, 1967), generational differences in values (Munns, 1972) and a dysfunctional home environment. Much of the research labels the runaway a juvenile delinquent, implying that he or she has delinquent behavior traits which are a causal factor in the running away (Hildebrand, 1968). In fact, runaways have been shown to have more police contacts than their non-runaway peers (Shellow, 1967) and also to have a higher prevalence of drug abuse (Pittell, 1968). These facts, however, often seem to be the aftermaths of running away rather than antecedents to it (Ambrosino, 1971; Robins and O'Neal, 1959). Drugs, prostitution and crime are often resorted to as a means of survival. Ambrosino (1971) suggests that most young people run to avoid an intolerable situation in the home and any delinquent traits come about after the running.

Runaway youth may be viewed as further manifestation of the broad category of "alienated youth." "The problems of young people on the move overlap and merge with the general problems of alienated youth" (Child Welfare Council, 1969, p. 28). The term "alienation" has been utilized to explain a variety of diverse phenomena from use of drugs to student demonstrations. The underlying philosophy is that alienation reflects a sense of estrangement from self (Seeman, 1975) and, or society (Keniston, 1960). Keniston (1960) notes that alienation implies the loss or

absence of a previously desirable relationship. Thus, since runaway adolescents are exhibiting a desire to escape their family environment, it could be suggested that they are feeling a sense of estrangement from the family or cultural system. The runaway youth directs his feelings of alienation and its resultant frustration into physically escaping from what is thwarting his needs whereas other alienated youth may direct their feelings into other forms of aggressive or inhibitory behavior.

Evidence (Goldmeier, 1973; Wolk, 1977) would seem to suggest that the relationship between family environmental factors and personality characteristics of the adolescent may deserve more attention in helping to understand alienated runaway behavior to find what factors contribute to an adolescent's running away. Environmental factors may contribute to feelings of alienation on the part of the adolescent, feelings of powerlessness, normlessness and meaninglessness, while personality factors may propel the individual into runaway behavior in an attempt to alleviate the stress created.

The purpose of this research is to understand this relationship between running away and family environmental factors as well as personality traits by comparing adolescents with differing propensities to run away from home.

Family Environmental Variables and Runaway Behavior

Broken homes have often been made a convenient scapegoat for the shaping of behavior disturbances in children including runaway behavior. However, Shellow (1967) found that whether the home was broken or not, the homes of runaways were characterized by high levels of parent-child

conflict. This suggests that a broken home rather than being a contributing element in itself, is simply a structural vehicle which may predispose a family to certain functional inadequacies, making runaway behavior more possible but not necessarily more likely.

Research considering parental antecedents of emotional, social and intellectual development of children converges in suggesting that varying degrees of parental warmth, acceptance, support and control are salient dimensions of influence (Walters and Stinnett, 1971). As a specific example, Peterson (1965) found that adolescent perception of parental control and interest predicted the presence of absence of delinquency, happiness, school achievement and friendship. Morrow (1961); Elder (1963); and Cervantes (1965) also support the generalization that the nature of parent-child interaction plays a strong role in the psychological development and social responses of children, both for socially desirable development as well as anti-social behavior.

Conflict is a key issue in the families of runaways (Shellow, 1967). The literature has described the home environment as a frustrating place, lacking in support and acceptance and providing excessive punishment (Tsubouchi and Jenkins, 1969; Cull and Hardy, 1971), as well as over-control for females and under-control for males (Wolk and Brandon, 1977).

This functional inadequacy of the home may operate so as to hinder need fulfillment of the child. An individual has basic psychological needs of love and belongingness (that of being understood and accepted); esteem (self-respect and esteem from other people) and safety needs (needs for consistency, fairness and a certain amount of routine) (Goble, 1970). These needs directly feed into adolescent developmental needs as

the degree of adequacy with which they are met determines to some degree how successful the adolescent will be in fulfilling needs of independence and identity.

Shapiro and Zinner (1971) state that the primary task of the family group is the promotion in its members of ego autonomy and identity formation, leading to individuation and separation. Failure by the family system to meet these needs results in frustration on the part of the child. "Frustration is surely an important component of psychological stress, since virtually any seriously harmful condition of human life will have as one consequence, the frustration of important human goals and this frustration requires some adjustive activity to repair the damage, if possible, or to get along in spite of it" (Lazarous, 1961).

Frustration can be reduced in a number of ways depending upon alternatives available and upon the personality make-up of the individual. The author's contention is that runaway behavior represents an externalization of this frustration by certain adolescents with certain personality traits. It is an attempt to alleviate frustration by seeking alternative means to fulfill needs which have been inadequately met.

Thus, the parent-child interaction pattern may play a strong role in producing feelings of frustration on the part of the child as a result of creating difficulty for the adolescent in fulfilling psychological needs. Whether this frustration is externalized in the form of runaway behavior is to some degree dependent upon personality characteristics of the adolescent.

Personality Variables and Runaway Behavior

Research has indicated two divergent viewpoints concerning personality characteristics of runaway adolescents compared with their non-runaway counterparts. Paull (1956) suggests that adolescent runaways are well-adjusted and simply exhibiting a form of problem-solving behavior, while Wolk (1977) found them to report inadequate self-concepts, poor relationships with others, and to be anxious, self-doubting, defensive and emotionally labile. Elenewski (1974) found runaways to exhibit tendencies to be head-strong, restless and pleasure-seeking. These characteristics suggest inadequate need fulfillment as well as an aggressive, impulsive type of personality which may predispose one to externalize frustration.

Focus of Study

The purpose of this study is a verification of predicted familial interaction and self perception correlates of the adolescent behavior of running away from home. The correlates selected for assessment are represented in the body of theory and research concerning adolescent development and runaway behavior as being of particular importance. Factors of support, control, punishment and communication have been suggested by the literature to be significant variables in the interaction patterns of the parent and adolescent, especially when focusing on maladjustment.

A related question concerns whether a difference exists between male and female runaways on reported perceptions of parental support, control and punishment. Bronfenbrenner and Devereux (1969) have argued that boys require a high level of support and authority from fathers for

satisfactory development to proceed. On the other hand, girls may suffer developmentally from too much paternal restrictiveness.

Thus this research will examine adolescents with varying degrees of desire to run away from home as to their reports of the family environment with specific focus on elements of support, control, punishment and communication. It will also determine whether differences exist between the groups on selected personality variables which are suggested by the literature as being associated with runaway behavior. The specific questions this research seeks to answer are:

1) Is a difference found to exist between adolescents with varying propensities to run away on reports of selected family environmental variables?
2) Is a difference found to exist between three groups of adolescents with varying propensities to runaway on selected personality variables?
3) Is a difference found to exist between male and female runaways on family environmental variables of support, control, and punishment?

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This research proposes that runaway behavior is a manifestation of alienation. Numerous conceptualizations of alienation have been proposed. Sociological theories (Bell, 1960; Durkheim, 1951) concern themselves largely with social structural factors such as anonymity and rapid cultural change which appears to be linked to conditions of alienation. Psychological analyses (Keniston, 1965; Seeman, 1959) focus upon the individual's experience and expression of alienation -- describing the individual as manifesting feelings of powerlessness, normlessness and meaninglessness.

This research, in an attempt to understand runaway behavior, adapts a conceptualization proposed by Stokols (1975) which integrates both sociological and psychological perspectives. Stokols incorporated three fundamental components into his description of alienation:

a) a set of antecedent conditions, deriving from one's physical, social environment which engenders

b) a specific psychological experience, having motivational overtones and expressed as

c) a set of behavioral manifestations.

Thus, roots of psychological alienation can be found in functional social alienation and once established each feeds back into and reinforces the other (Carr, Cooke; 1976).

Viewing the adolescent runaway within this framework, the study

attempts to understand the relationship between the behavioral manifestation of running away and the set of antecedent conditions which may have contributed to the adolescent's state of alienation. (Figure 1)

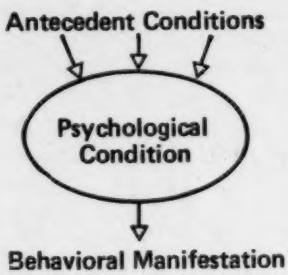


Figure 1

Relationship Between Antecedent Conditions and Behavioral Manifestations

Family environmental variables, for the purposes of this research, constitute the set of antecedent conditions which are thought to hinder adolescent need fulfillment. There is considerable support (Wolk, Brandon, 1977; Nye, 1975; Balswick, 1975) for the view that the nature of the parent-adolescent interaction plays an influential role in the psychological development and social responses of adolescents, both for socially desirable development as well as anti-social behavior. Several researchers (Young, 1976; Balswick, 1975; Wein, 1974) have found a relationship between a dysfunctional home environment and runaway behavior. Satir (1971) suggests that the symptom of any family member is seen as a comment on a dysfunctional family system and can be regarded as a report about the individual and the rules and interaction patterns of the family system. Although it is not possible for the family to fulfill

all adolescent needs, the heritage of the parent-child relationship that the individual carries into adolescence and the degree of previous fulfillment of basic needs of safety, love and belonging and acceptance may affect the ease with which an adolescent's developmental needs are met (Figure 2).

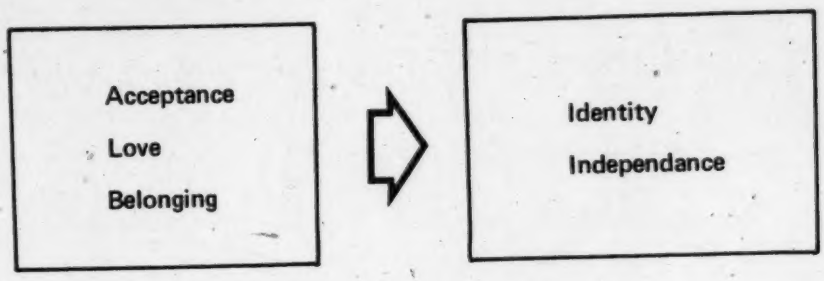


Figure 2

Relationship Between Childhood Need Fulfillment and Adolescent Need Fulfillment

Thus, to examine possible contributing factors of behavior within Stokel's framework of alienation a combination of the systems and developmental frameworks will be utilized to conceptualize the dynamics of the adolescent within the family system. Hill (1970) has suggested that these two frameworks are compatible ones to be used together.

Overview of Systems Framework

Systems theory conceptualizes the family as "a whole made up of interrelated and interdependent parts" (Black, 1972; Buckley, 1967). The family itself is an interrelated part of the larger societal and cultural systems. Systems parts are related in a reciprocal, causal manner. A continuous action-reaction pattern exists between the parts where cause and effect flow one into the other with no emergent end

point. Feelings of alienation on the part of the adolescent and the resultant desire to exchange one system for another may in part be a reaction to inappropriate interaction patterns or rules in the family system which may create difficulty in fulfillment of developmental needs of the adolescent self-system. However, the adolescent self-system, as a result of personality traits or placement in the family structure, influences how other family members perceive and interact with him. Each individual self system performs a function for the larger family system.

These interdependent parts are characterized by maintenance of equilibrium. Within the family system, individuals through interaction establish a level of equilibrium which keeps the family functioning in a stable, predictable manner. This equilibrium, however, is often in a state of flux. Diverse personalities, and changing levels and intensities of emotions need to be incorporated into the functioning of the family system. "A change in one family member, originating from an internal or external source is met by a compensating mood or action by other family members (perhaps unconsciously) that is designed to keep the system in balance or homeostasis" (Lederer and Jackson, 1968; p. 45).

Hill (1971) describes the family as "a purposive, goal oriented, task performing system." Some goals relate to the functions performed by the family for the larger society, including socialization of children, preparation for the adult role and fulfillment of various personal goals of individual members. These goals are said to give direction and rationale to family activities. Waisenen (1963) points out that both the social system and the self system of individual members are goal oriented and are organized on the basis of roles to facilitate goal

attainment. If the goals of the two systems are in accord -- that is, if individuals perceive that the goals can be fulfilled by their participation as system members -- then a condition of stability is present. If however, a discrepancy exists between the self-goals of members and the goals that they perceive as being satisfied by the system, feelings of alienation result.

The structural elements of the family system -- the roles, norms and sanctions -- constitute the inputs necessary for goal fulfillment and determine the interaction patterns manifested by family members. Rules governing interaction patterns include areas of division of labor and performance of tasks, the distribution of authority and the means employed for decision making, the content and patterns of communication, the boundaries of the families world, and means and extent of provision of emotional support and relationships with other social groups. Hill (1971) suggests that "a maximally viable social system is characterized by complex structural relationships, high levels of communication and interaction between its components and subsystems, by highly flexible organization and a minimum of rigid constraints in inter-component relationships." Rules governing family dynamics may be preserved or adapted over the family life-cycle depending upon the family's boundary maintenance.

A constant exchange of information occurs between the family system and the larger societal and cultural systems. "These interchanges permit its viability, its continuity in the sense of reproductive ability and its capacity to change or adapt to changing ecological circumstances" (Kantor, Lehr, 1975, p. 116). Cultural change and expectations directly impinge upon the family unit seeking adaptation and conformity to soci-

ally prescribed values and norms. The economic, social and political climate of a culture also have a direct impact on the family unit and the socialization process that occurs. The family with an open boundary system is receptive to information input into the family from outside sources whether it be consistent or conflicting with its own values. The boundaries are flexible so as to allow consistency and adaptation to changing requirements of external systems. The closed family, at the opposite extreme has rigidly defined boundaries which prevent exchange of information and experience. The status quo is maintained while change is perceived as a threat to family stability and is either distorted or denied.

Internal as well as external boundaries characterize family dynamics with similar principles applying. Adaptation of family rules and interaction patterns to individual members changing developmental and growth needs is to a large degree dependent upon how open or closed the family maintains its internal boundaries. Closed families seek conformity rather than individuality and any change in individual developmental demands acts as a threat to the family's carefully preserved state of equilibrium.

This concept of boundary maintenance is presented in Figure 3.

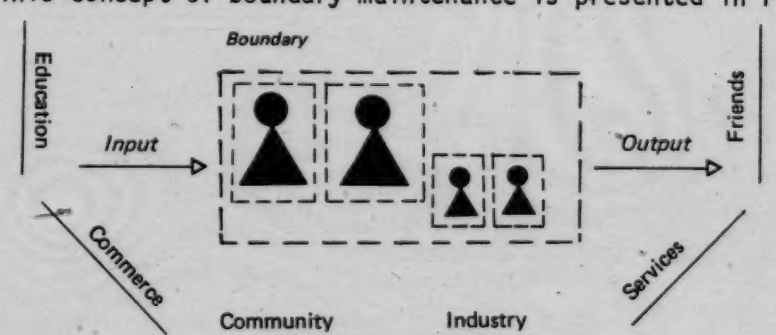


Figure 3

Internal and External Boundary Maintenance

Thus, each structural arrangement -- open or closed -- and degrees within, are characterized by distinctly different rules, regulations and modes of behavior which are oriented towards realizing diverse purposes and goals of the family system.

As a result of ongoing interaction and rules governing family dynamics, family members develop bonds which unite and keep them together and provide for a feeling of family morale. These bonds varying in number, diversity and strength, determine in part the stability or vulnerability of the family when confronted with a crisis or demand for change. Turner (1970, pp. 61-62) predicts that "to the extent that members of a family seek the same goals or mutually supporting goals there will be strong bonds between them, but to the extent that they seek unrelated ends or actually impede each other's goals the bonds will be weakened."

Turner (1970) identifies four types of interdependent bonds -- membership gratification bonds, identity bonds, task bonds and crescive bonds. Membership bonds fulfill the individual's need for acceptance and belonging and unite system's members through bonds of loyalty and prestige. The identity bonds depend more upon the identity aspects of interaction. Turner suggests that identity bonds enhance the self-conception of individual family members and that these bonds are of two related types -- identification and response bonds. Identification bonds represent the concept of modeling -- the assimilation into one's own self-system desirable or admirable qualities perceived in a person one identifies with. Response bonding refers to the way in which individuals treat one another. Bonding occurs when the response of another is rewarding, ego-enhancing or need fulfilling. Identification and response

bonds are interdependent. If an individual is treated with trust, or warmth or, in other positively enhancing ways they are likely to continue or repeat the interaction, increasing identification with that person. Crescive bonds are deep, time-imbiding bonds which emerge after considerable strengthening of the previous bonds. It is these bonds which make for an enduring relationship between parents and children after the dependency ties have been broken.

Thus, the nature of these bonds contributes to as well as is a result of, the family dynamics that occur and affects the totality of interaction within the family system including: communication patterns between members; strength of adoption or rejection of parental values and standards; as well as fulfillment of basic needs of safety, love and belonging, acceptance and esteem and the ease with which developmental needs and tasks are recognized and fulfilled.

Adolescent Development Within a Family System

Maslow (1954) and others have categorized basic psychological needs of humans as falling into four broad categories: love and belonging, safety, esteem and self-actualization needs. In addition, culturally defined developmental needs or tasks impinge upon the individual at certain stages of his life. These tasks constitute the basis of the developmental conceptual framework.

The developmental framework views the family member and the family as a unit as confronting certain role expectations (developmental tasks) as they advance through the various stages of the family life cycle (Rowe, 1966, p. 199). Havighurst, (1953; p. 2) defines a developmental task as "one which arises at or about a certain period in the life of

an individual, successful achievement of which leads to his happiness and success with later tasks while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by society and difficulty with later tasks." Thus, growth through the stages is a continuous process with each stage feeding into another.

A developmental task consists of elements of biological maturation, personal needs and aspirations and cultural demands and expectations. These elements create a push for change within the individual in an attempt to establish equilibrium within the self system and adaptation to the cultural system.

Duvall (1962, p. 37) sees the individual's growth through a developmental task as consisting of four interrelated operations: 1) perceiving new possibilities for his behavior in what is expected of him or in what he sees others, more mature than he, accomplishing 2) forming new conceptions of himself (identity formation) 3) coping effectively with conflicting demands upon him and 4) wanting to achieve the next step in his development enough to work on it (motivation).

Adolescence involves the accomplishment of a number of important developmental tasks. Every adolescent has their own individual and family defined needs and goals to achieve. As well, society has defined several pervasive goals of the adolescent period. The more important of these include the adolescent's needs for independence and identity.

How adequately previous needs of love and belonging, safety and esteem have been met determines to a large extent adjustment to and fulfillment of these emerging needs. Psychological conflict and tension may result if the adolescent is still attempting to fulfill these basic needs, but yet at the same time being pushed by physical changes and

society into dealing with adolescent developmental needs. "The evidence indicates that youth are likely to develop psychic pathology or engage in socially destructive behavior if denied gratification of their total need structure" (Mitchell, 1975; p. 89). Mitchell further extends the needs of adolescents to include needs for: self-importance, to make significant contributions to the environment in which one lives, introspection and self-analysis, sampling various identities in order to build a self-definition, primal assertion and the need for intimacy. Successful achievement of these needs contributes to the ultimate growth of a sense of identity.

Developmental tasks are in part, culturally defined with the extent to which needs are felt dependent upon the cultural and familial context in which they occur. "Just how intense and vehement the expression of the adolescent experience is in each culture depends on factors such as the general societal attitudes toward adolescence, the duration of the adolescent experience itself and the degree with which the society tends to facilitate patterns, ceremonial rites, and rituals and socially support emotional and intellectual preparation" (Bloch, Neiderhoffer, 1958; p. 17).

The emergence of adolescence carries with it a need for change in rules and interaction patterns, and a shifting of bonds within the family system in order to adapt to these changing needs of the adolescent self system. A thwarting of these needs can result in feelings of alienation and, in part dependent upon the personality of the adolescent, the resultant frustration may give rise to different responses or a combination of the responses. Figure 4 presents possible behavioral manifestations of this alienation and frustration.

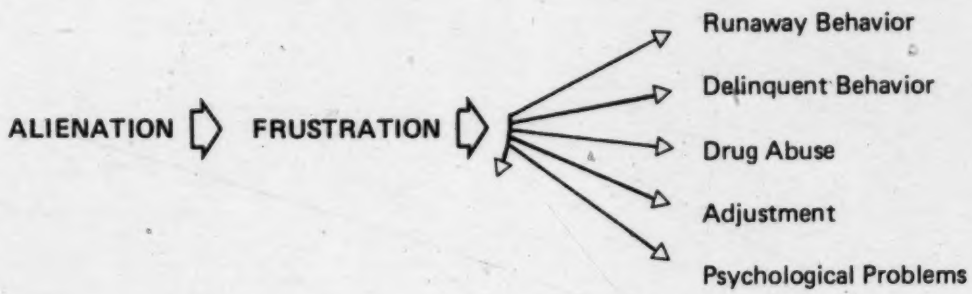


Figure 4

Behavioral Manifestations of Alienation

When the family is unable to make the necessary shifts in family dynamics to adapt to changing developmental goals, it may be due to several universal variables characterizing the relationship between an adolescent and adult which hold the potential for conflict.

Kingsley Davis (1940) suggested that the age differential between adult and adolescent may be a major source of conflict. Physiological, psychosocial and sociological differences exist as a result. The adolescent identity crisis usually occurs at a time when parents are in their fourties or fifties and often undergoing readjustments in their own self-conceptions. Their concern and awareness with the advancing aging process and its decline in productivity, endurance and attractiveness. Also, while the adolescent questions the goals that society expects of him his parents are reassessing, doubting and sometimes regretting the goals that have shaped their lives.

Frustration and bewilderment is also likely to occur for both adolescent and parent in attempting to identify with each other as both have grown up in very different worlds which have generated dif-

ferent adolescent needs, goals and outlooks. As Kenniston (1960) emphasized, "when the developmental experiences that shape our personalities and the social changes that must be confronted, vary markedly from adults to young people, generational differences in cultural values and outlook -- even in knowledge -- tend to be magnified". Thus parents find great difficulty in identifying with their children and vice versa. Communication between adolescent and parent may therefore be impaired as a result of this weakened identification bond; possibly propelling the adolescent to seek identification outside the family system, often within a peer group. Neal (1976) drew upon various facets of family life in developing items for four different alienation scales measuring meaningless, normlessness, social isolation and powerlessness within the family. The generation gap emerged as the second strongest factor causing feelings of alienation.

The cultural system impinges upon these universal variables within the family acting to strengthen or weaken the potential for stress that exists. Rapidity of change increases the difficulties of adolescent adaptation for both parent and child. Bronfenbrenner (1974) views society's present rapid state of change as resulting in disorganization at both the institutional and individual level, rather than constructive development. "The institution that itself shows the most radical and rapid transformation is the family, the major context in which a person grows up. The primary causes and consequences of change, however, lie outside the home" (Bronfenbrenner,1974; p. 32).

Rapid change, as well as other cultural variables, has contributed to a base of insecurity, uncertainty and depersonalization within which to fulfill adolescent needs. Mechanization and automation have de-

creased the need for labor while specialization of jobs has increased the amount of education required by youth. These factors have delayed entry into the work force and prolonged the period of adolescent dependence, contributing to what Mitchell (1975) labels the "involvement crisis" -- the inability to form meaningful, viable and productive involvement with the dominant society. A meaningful existence has to grow out of experiences which contribute to self-worth.

Affluence and unemployment have contributed to a particular mental state among the young. Sebald (1977; p. 505) calls it the "psychology of entitlement," where the young have come to expect instant gratification without any work on their part.

Urbanization and bigness makes meaningful personal relationships more difficult. In addition, the city breeds a host of other social, and economic problems which further complicate the task of growing up.

Cultural conditions have also led to confusion concerning the adolescent's role and status. As an "in-between" stage adolescents are given little power. They occupy neither the responsible position of adulthood nor the protected position of childhood but are relegated to a position of insignificance. This contributes to what Mitchell (1975) terms the "meaning crisis." "The quest for meaning is a dominant adolescent impulse which is satisfied when the person views what he does as having importance, relevance or significance" (Mitchell, 1975; p. 204).

The family, itself, as a result of cultural conditions is subject to conflicting pushes and pulls. Pushes to fulfill a large number of diverse roles as the result of our relatively small, isolated conjugal families, and pulls in the form of television, diverse family social

activities, role overloads and concern with self development tend to decrease interaction between family members.

Although cultural conditions do create stress for both the adolescent and the family, Balswick (1975) perceives the nature of the parent-adolescent relationship to be the major determining factor in whether this stress results in alienation. Family structural components may impair developmental strivings. Closed boundaries, rigid roles, and constrained communication patterns may act to retain the adolescent in a powerless role in which needs of independence, esteem and identity are thwarted.

Parental characteristics, to some extent influence these structural components of the family. Whether structural components are continually changing and adapting to internal and external demands and whether adolescent needs are perceived as a threat is to some extent dependent upon one or both parents' own success with past and present need fulfillment. For instance -- adolescent bonding to parents loosens as the need for autonomy increases. Task and membership bonds are weakened because much of the youth's activities are now centered outside the family. Identity bonds are often weakened due to differences in values, norms and outlooks. Often, however there is no such decline on the part of parents to loosen ties. In fact, the more stressful the parents' own identity crisis is, the more important the bonds to their children become. The loss of these bonds often acts as a greater threat to the woman who has had more time, energy and emotional commitment in the socialization process and whose self-esteem is derived mainly from the role of motherhood.

Carr, Cooke, Strain and McMillan (1976) utilize the concepts of

integration and commitment of a member within a family system which help to determine how adequately adolescent needs will be fulfilled. Integration involves a measure of an adolescent's involvement in the family system -- how influential they are; the sense of importance given them and the opportunities provided for display and recognition of individuality. Higher integration levels tend to be associated with larger allocations of system's resources and with more personal involvement in system's activities and goals. Thus, degree of integration is a factor in determining self-esteem, feelings of acceptance and belongingness and identity. High integration leads to higher levels of commitment or bonding of family members to each other.

Thus high levels of integration and commitment would tend to strengthen the crescive bonds between parent and adolescent which enable the family to cope with cultural and developmental stress and strain and which permit fulfillment of and adaptation to adolescent needs so that the desire to exchange one system for another is absent or weakened (Figure 5).

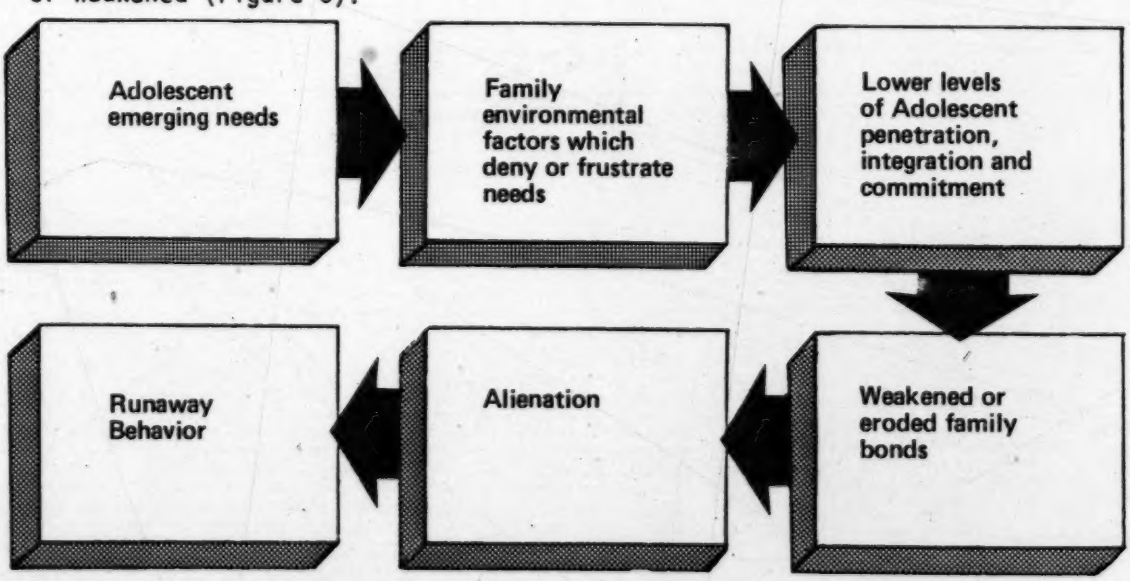

Adolescent emerging needs
Family environmental factors which deny or frustrate needs
Lower levels of Adolescent penetration, integration and commitment
Weakened or eroded family bonds
Alienation
Runaway Behavior

Figure 5

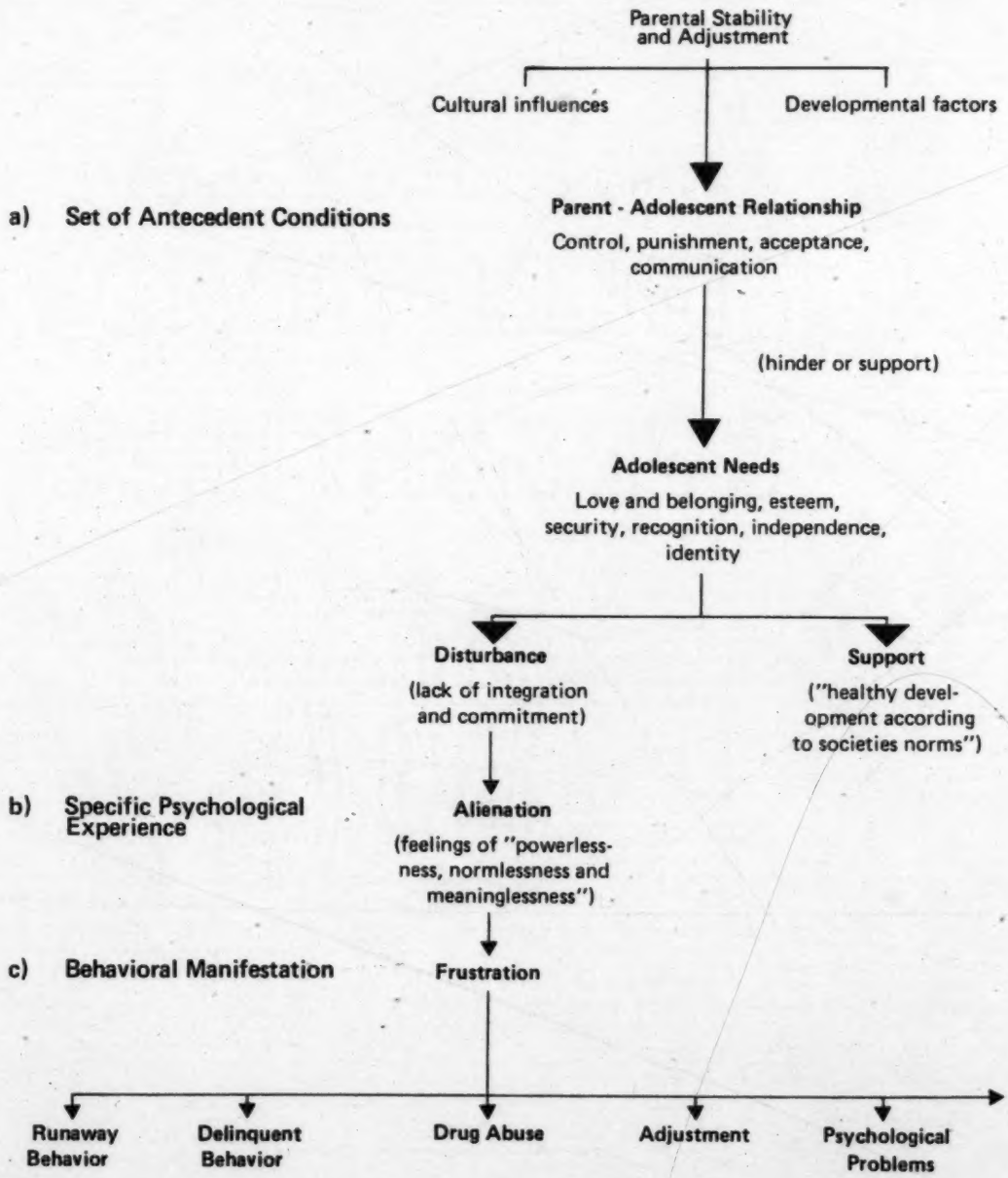
Family Bonds and Runaway Behavior

Summary of Runaway Behavior Within a Model of Alienation

Concepts presented in formulating a model of adolescent alienation directed into runaway behavior are integrated in Figure 6 (page 25). A set of antecedent conditions, which for the purposes of this research are presented by variables of the parent-adolescent relationship, may act to support or impede biological and adolescent developmental needs. If the adolescent's needs are supported through a high degree of attainment of integration within and commitment to the family unit and cultural system, healthy adjustment according to society's norms is more likely to result. However, difficulty in achieving these needs may result in psychological feelings of powerlessness, normlessness and meaninglessness as a result of low commitment to and integration within the family and, or cultural system. The resultant frustration could be directed in several directions in an attempt to relieve the dissonance created, with the direction possibly being partly dependent upon the personality of the individual.

Figure 6

Conceptualization of Adolescent Alienated Runaway Behavior



CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter concerns itself with a review of relevant literature pertaining to the runaway adolescent and possible influential factors which may motivate an adolescent to seek escape. The review focuses upon the elements of the model presented in Chapter Two, including necessary prerequisites for adolescent growth and need fulfillment; possible familial and cultural factors which may impede this development and contribute to an erosion of family bonds, the nature of adolescent alienation which may occur and personality characteristics of runaways which may direct this alienation into runaway behavior.

Runaway behavior is a complex phenomena requiring more than simply an in-depth study of those who have run away. Rather it requires a broader look at pervasive cultural and familial factors which impinge upon adolescent development in today's society and which contribute to adolescent alienation of which runaway behavior is only one reflection.

Perspectives on the Adolescent Developmental Stage

Runaway behavior, being a phenomena of the adolescent stage of development, suggests the need to define and understand factors in development of the adolescent and influences which serve to hinder or support this development.

Biological, anthropological, psychoanalytic, sociological and

psychological definitions have prevailed, each viewing adolescent adjustment and development from differing perspectives. This research has as its focus an integration of sociological and psychological perspectives of adolescence, with adolescence recognized as an age span of twelve to seventeen. Sociological perspectives emphasize the family and cultural systems goals which act to support or create difficulty in adolescent individual psychological need fulfillment. The description and exploration of these needs is the focus of the psychological perspective.

Psychological perspective

Psychological definitions expound upon adolescence as a period of transition by emphasizing the need for psychological growth and fulfillment - "a time of rapid development: of growing to sexual maturity, discovering one's real self, defining personal values and finding one's vocational and social directions. It is also a time of testing, of pushing against one's capabilities and the limitations posed by adults" (Ambron, 1975; 393).

Basic needs of adolescents are at the root of this psychological development. Maslow (1954) as well as many others list these basic needs as love and affection, security, personal autonomy, personal recognition, personal power, feelings of being understood and feelings of belonging. Mitchell (1975) emphasizes needs for meaningful involvement, positive contribution, making a difference, primal assertion, intimacy and honest work. "Adolescents need involvement: they need to be important (which means more than to be thought of as important, it means being able to do important work); they need to contribute to their household; they need intimacy and love relationships (more than merely security

and comfort); they need to be able to assert themselves and take the consequences of their actions. Most important, they need to avoid at all costs being impotent, being unimportant, and making no difference (Mitchell, 1975; p. 20).

Two particularly important needs which are interrelated as well as being intimately related to fulfillment and accomplishment of other adolescent needs and tasks include: a need for independence and autonomy and a need for a sense of identity. These needs may be important elements in their relationship to runaway behavior.

Douvan and Adelson (1966) point out that separation from parents or transformation of the adolescent's emotional dependence on the parents to a relationship of mature independence is critical. If it is curtailed or denied, serious neurotic problems may result (Rappoport, 1972). Douvan and Adelson (1966) indicate three basic forms of autonomy which characterize an adolescent's striving for independence: (1) behavioral autonomy which results in conflicts regarding dating, leisure-time activities, peer group choices, use of money and keeping certain hours (2) emotional autonomy which expresses itself in self-reliance, self-control and the transference of strong emotional attachment from family members to peers, and (3) value autonomy which is a component of an adolescent's search for identity and expresses itself in an increased interest in the exploration of vocational and moral and religious values.

This struggle for independence may be gradual and peaceful or achieved with rebellion. Douvan and Adelson (1966; p. 119) write: "The paths to departure vary. Some must struggle to leave, others must flee for their lives: some must leave vindictively, full of hate ... while others are themselves beaten or betrayed before they leave: some leave

in high expectation, carrying the family's hope for fortune or redemption ...".

Gradual achievement of independence is necessary for an adolescent's search for an identity. Aichorn (1969) feels that one of the greatest struggles for the adolescent is to resolve his identification with his parents and to build an identification and self-concept that is uniquely his own. Conger (1977) suggests that identity is an essential problem of adolescence and one under which many other adolescent problems can be subsumed.

Identity formation is dependent upon the questions of "Who am I?", "What is my goal or purpose?", "What is the meaning of life?". "Before the adolescent can successfully abandon the security of childhood dependence on others he must have some idea of who he is, where he is going, and what the possibilities are of getting there" (Mussen, 1974; p. 556). The problems of formulating answers to these questions have been the focus of the writings of Erik Erikson (1968). Erikson described the adolescent task as, achievement of a sense of one's own identity as a unique person ("ego identity") and the avoidance of role (identity) confusion. "The younger person, in order to experience wholeness, must feel a progressive continuity between that which he has come to be during the long years of childhood and that which he promises to become in the anticipated future; between that which he conceives himself to be and that which he perceives others to see in him and to expect of him. Thus, elements of a strong sense of ego identity include an ability to perceive oneself as somehow separate from others as well as a feeling of wholeness. Influences which impair these self-perceptions contribute to what Erikson calls identity confusion, which he defines as a "failure

to achieve the integration and continuity of self-images" (1968; p. 212). This state, he suggests, is characterized by an incapacity for personal intimacy, disbelief in the possibility that time will bring change and a choice of a negative identity, expressed through rejection of socially desirable roles. Mitchell (1975) feels that these conditions are fairly common traits of contemporary youth.

Difficulty in achieving these adolescent needs, rather than being a result of pathology within the individual as is the focus of psychoanalytic literature, is often a reflection on the social structural conditions within which the adolescent operates.

Social-psychological perspective

The interaction between the adolescent and his society is the major focus of sociological explanations. Hollingshead (1949; p. 6) presents a social definition of adolescence as "a period in life when the society in which he functions ceases to regard him ... as a child and does not accord him full adult status, roles and functions". Landis (1945; p. 23) suggests that "viewed from a sociological perspective, adolescence comprises the period in life when the individual is in the process of transfer from the dependent, irresponsible age of childhood to the self-reliant, responsible age of adulthood. The maturing child seeks new freedom and in finding it, becomes accountable to society".

Thus, adolescence is a culturally defined experience. The process of maturation during adolescence is the process of becoming socialized according to society's norms. Davis (1944; p. 32) defines this socialization as "the process by which the individual learns and adopts the ways, ideas, beliefs, values and norms of his culture and makes them part of his personality". Each society defines for its members the goals, values and behaviors which are acceptable and unacceptable. These goals and

values are incorporated into patterns of childrearing within a culture.

Havighurst (1953) has integrated adolescent psychological needs with our culturally defined demands for the adolescent stage to formulate what he feels are major developmental tasks for socialization of adolescents. He defines a developmental task as "a task which arises at or about a certain period in the life of the individual, successful achievement of which leads to his happiness and success with later tasks while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by the society, and difficulty with later tasks" (Havighurst, 1953; p. 2). Havighurst delineates eight major tasks which are the goals of adolescent growth and which contribute to as well as being the result of the adolescent need structure. These include: achieving new and more mature relations with age mates of both sexes; achieving a masculine or feminine social role; accepting one's physique and using the body effectively; achieving independence of parents and other adults; preparing for an economic career; preparing for marraige and family life; acquiring a set of values and an ethical system as a guide to behavior; and desiring and achieving socially responsible behavior.

The ease or difficulty with which these tasks are accomplished and thus needs are met is to a certain extent dependent upon the cultural and familial context which characterizes the adolescent. Bloch and Neiderhoffer (1958; p. 17) suggests that "just how intense and vehement the expression of the adolescent experience is in each culture depends on factors such as, "the general societal attitudes toward adolescence, the duration of the adolescent period itself, and the degree with which the society tends to facilitate patterns, ceremonials, rites and rituals, and socially support emotional and intellectual prepatation". "The ado-

lescent undergoes a continuous process of adjusting. His personal and social behavior does not develop in a vacuum. Those interests, attitudes and modes of behavior that are peculiarly his, result from the relationships that exist between his personal desires, needs or inherent potentialities and the existing environmental conditions by which he is stimulated" (Brenton, 1978; p. 10).

Cultural Input for Need Fulfillment

Cultural influences may operate on their own or as a result of impingement upon family dynamics, to maintain the adolescent in a dependent and unfulfilling position for a lengthy time and to hinder the quality and quantity of interaction between adolescents and parents. Economic, political, social, educational and communicaty conditions and demands act to define the placement of adolescents within society as well as providing socially desirable means to achieve developmental needs. However as Conger (1977; p. 195) stated "Though all these factors may affect significantly the adolescents present and future adaptations, none plays a more critical role than the family".

Family Input for Need Fulfillment

"The ways in which the adolescent approaches developmental tasks of this age period, the degree of difficulty these tasks present, and his relative success in mastering them, will all be importantly affected by prior and continuing parent-child relationships" (Conger, 1977; p. 197).

Social scientists have found many correlations between the quality of family relations and psychological and social characteristics of an individual. Bachman (1971) found that the better a boy reported getting

along with his parents, the higher his self-esteem, his self-concept of school ability, his attitudes toward school and his feelings of personal efficacy. The poorer the family relations, the more likely the boy is to admit to delinquency and rebellious behavior. The research results of Walters and Stinnett (1971) converge in suggesting that parental acceptance, warmth and support are positively related to favorable emotional, social and intellectual development of children and that extreme restrictiveness, authoritarianism and punitiveness, without acceptance, warmth and love tend to be negatively related to a child's positive self concept and emotional and social development. Coopersmith (1967) summarizes the antecedents of high self-esteem as total or nearly total acceptance of the children by their parents, the establishment of a structured world in which definite values are espoused and clear limits set and relatively great freedom within the established structures and limits.

The support and control dimensions of the parental interactional system are seen as perhaps the two most important interactional relationships (Straus, 1964) which help an adolescent fulfill needs for independence and identity. Thomas (1974; p. 10) defines support as referring to that quality of the interaction which is perceived by the investee (self) as the significant others establishing a positive affective relationship with him. Control refers to that quality of interaction which is perceived by ego as constraining him to do what the significant other wants.

Control

Kandel and Lesser (1969) suggest three possible control structures within a family -- authoritarian, democratic and permissive. They found

democratic parents to be significantly more likely than authoritarian or permissive parents to have adolescents who felt independent. Furthermore, feelings of independence were highest among adolescents whose parents provided frequent explanations for their rules of conduct. Other studies (Elder, 1963) and others, suggested that both democratic and permissive parents who also provide frequent explanations were most likely to have adolescents who were confident in their own values, goals and awareness of rules and who were independent. Conger (1977) summarized the independence fostered by democratic practices with frequent explanations in several ways: by providing opportunities for increasing autonomy guided by parents who are interested and who communicate with the adolescent; by promoting positive identification with the parent based on love and respect for the adolescent rather than rejection or indifference; and by providing models of reasonable independence. Landis and Stone (1975) suggest that there are fewer conflicts between parent and adolescent in the democratic family. All members help to make decisions, allowing them to feel they are contributing to the family -- that they have a position of importance within its structure. The parent is relieved of the role of authority figure since the role is diffused throughout the family and conflict is thereby reduced. In a democratic family, the adolescent develops the internal control necessary since he is depending partly upon himself for making decisions. He is becoming responsible to himself. Kandel and Lesser (1969) found a democratic parenting pattern to be consistently associated with positive interactions and attitudes toward parents. "In essence, child rearing structures which represent considerable adolescent participation in self-direction appear least provocative of rejection of feeling (Elder,

1962; p. 260).

An authoritarian family structure places the parent as the authority figure who controls and shapes the family members. Hill (1973) suggested that adolescence for most is a relatively passive period not characterized by stormy intra-familial relationships. However, when the latter do characterize adolescence he finds that available information suggests that it is more often a function of extreme parenting styles rather than solely intrapsychic matters. Within the authoritarian family there is little tolerance for nonconformity and an adolescent seeking independence will most likely be perceived as a threat to the family stability. As Baumrind (1968; p. 261) has observed, the authoritarian parent "attempts to shape, control and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of the adolescent in accordance with a set standard of conduct, usually an absolute standard". Any sort of two-way interaction between parent and adolescent -- any encouragement of verbal give and take -- is negatively reinforced in the conviction that the adolescent should accept unquestioningly the parents' word for what is right. Thus the authoritarian family thwarts the adolescent's need for self-reliance, independence and adaptation which are especially important in a culture faced with rapid social change where there are few clear-cut social guidelines and responsibility must come largely from within. Peterson (1965) found that adolescent perception of parents as more or less controlling predicted the presence or absence of delinquency, happiness, school achievement and peer friendship.

Thus, control as a result of a relationship to satisfying needs for independence, along with parental support (interest and acceptance) of the adolescent are important in aiding the adolescent in fulfillment

of his needs. Some degree of freedom is necessary for the adolescent to explore his own unique interests, potentialities, values and ideals; to grow behond a social identity with his family to a self identity of his own. Thomas (1974) emphasizes dimensions of power and worth as fundamental in identity formation. These refer to the person's feelings of competence, effectiveness and personal worth and feelings of personal virtue and moral worth.

Support

Self-acceptance, self-esteem and parental acceptance of the adolescent are related. Langer (1974) found the single most damaging factor to a child's psychological development was maternal coldness. Coopersmith (1967) similarly suggests a relationship between self-esteem and parental acceptance while a number of studies (Elder, 1963; Mussen 1974) have indicated that without strong and unambiguous manifestations of parental love, the adolescent has far more difficulty developing self-esteem, constructive and rewarding relationships with others and a confident sense of his own identity.

Rejection of either or both parents by the adolescent or the parental rejection of the adolescent is an important factor in demonstrated aggressive behavior on the adolescent's part (Dunford, 1976). Factors of rejection and restriction may create difficulty in need fulfillment, which could act to erode family bonds and decrease commitment of the adolescent to the family unit.

Parental use of acceptance or rejection and predisposition toward a certain type of control may be in part dependent upon parental adjustment or maladjustment. Maladjustment of the parent can have an implication for the adolescent's achievement of autonomy. The external control

that characterized the parent-child relationship must give way to adolescent internal self control. For the parents who perceive the adolescent as fulfilling their own identity, who have forsaken personal development to the exclusion of parenting and who see the child as a unifying agent to the marital relationship, the adolescent's striving for independence may be perceived as a direct threat. Parental possessiveness or over-control can stifle efforts of the adolescent to cope with maturity.

Parents form the largest part of the child's environment and are models for the kind of behavior they expect. If they have found their own life's direction and have been able to relate effectively to the world around them they may be better able to be more effective parents, able to respond and relate to their adolescent's changing needs, feelings and behavior. Medininus (1965) suggested that there was a significant positive relationship between maternal self-acceptance and child acceptance.

The interpersonal relationship of the parents is significant for development of the child and adolescent. Solomon (1973) suggests that the existence of a stabilized marriage relationship allows a family to maintain their balance when adolescents seek need satisfaction. Foote (1963) stated that if either a husband or wife lags in personality, relative to the other, serious mismatching could occur, particularly when the children are launched. MacFarlane (1941) found the marital relationship to be more important than any other factor in the home on the child's behavior. They suggest that if too many areas of adjustive difficulties exist between the parents, it brings them insecurity, which is communicated to the child, who then uses devices of aggression, with-

drawal or other problem behaviors in his efforts to recapture equilibrium. "It becomes clear at this point that a major issue in the pathology of the family is the base relationship existing between marital partners" (Solomon, 1973; p. 72). Thus parental adjustment directly feeds into the stability of the marital relationship which in turn could affect adolescent need fulfillment.

Need Impediment and Resulting Frustration

Failure by the family system to help the adolescent achieve his or her needs may result in frustration. "Frustration is the common psychological denominator underlying conditions that instigate emotional instability, precipitate more serious behavior disorder, and induce various adjustive mechanisms" (Gold, 1969; p. 52). Radke (1946) based on a number of early studies, concluded that parental behavior is a key variable in explaining frustration of the child which results in aggression. Balswick (1975) suggests that one of the dynamics of family interaction especially present when the child is a teenager, is parentally induced frustration which leads to the adolescent's aggression.

The adjustive bheaviors adopted to alleviate this frustration vary from drug abuse to delinquency to runaway behavior. However, a pervasive state of alienation would appear to underlie most of these adaptive mechanisms.

The Nature of Alienation

The extent of adolescent alienation has been described in an extensive body of literature. Halleck (1967) found that adolescents are alienated from their families and peer groups. Globetti (1966) discusses

the adolescent's retreat from the social world by means of drugs and alcohol while Gold (1969) explores the linkage between juvenile delinquency and alienation. Brennan (1978) suggests that runaway adolescents exhibit feelings of psychological alienation as a result of social alienation from their families. Thus, both sociological and psychological perspectives of alienation should be utilized to determine whether an interrelationship exists between the two.

Sociological perspective

A sociological perspective views alienation as a reaction to a situational context. "The condition of alienation is a negative form of involvement in a social system: an individual is present within, cognizant of, or somehow implicated by the system, although he perceives that it cannot fulfill his goals or provide the outcomes he values" (Kutner, Rosenstock, 1967; p. 397). Similarly Etzioni (1968) suggests that alienation means a social situation which is beyond the control of the actor and hence unresponsive to his basic needs.

Within a sociological framework, cultural conflict and social change and family strain in and of itself and as a result of cultural impingements are major contributors to alienation. "Accelerated social and geographic mobility, social fragmentation and disorganization, the lessening of adult authority, the increasing prominence of an adolescent youth culture, age segregation -- all have magnified the difficulties of the adolescent period for adolescents and for their parents" (Conger, 1977; p. 206). Keniston (1965) describes the ways in which affluence, increasing rates of social change, leisure, automation, lack of creativity in work and a decline in utopian ideas have contributed to the apathy and withdrawal of youth. Cultural influences have operated to

decrease meaningful contact between adolescents and adults as well as operating to maintain the adolescent in a dependent and unfulfilling position for a lengthy period of time. Adams (1973; p. 3) defined adolescence as a holding period in which education, maturation and waiting are the major tasks to be faced. Mitchell (1975) suggests that as a result of this cultural idea that adolescence is simply a empty period until adulthood with no clearly defined roles, adolescents are experiencing a number of severe predicaments or crises. "It is a disorder which comes about when a person who considers himself important is expected to comply without having the right to contribute" (Mitchell, 1975; p. 38). The major difficulty facing adolescents he feels, is an involvement crisis -- their inability to involve themselves in the important events of society.

As well as affecting an adolescent's position in society cultural factors directly impinge upon the family unit and its internal dynamics. "Although alienation ultimately affects the individual, it has its roots in the institution of the society, and among these institutions the family plays a critical role" (Bronfenbrenner, 1974; p. 53).

Three results of this cultural impingement hold meaning for the parent-adolescent relationship and a weakening of family bonds. These include: isolation of family members, increased generational differences between adults and adolescents and a general strain upon human relationships which contributes to family structural breakdown.

Bronfenbrenner (1974) cites fragmentation of the extended family, occupational mobility, child labor laws, television, working mothers, delegation of child care to specialists and separate patterns of social life as manifestations of progress which operate to isolate children

from their parents.

Many social scientists support the idea of a generation gap and argue that there are profound and increasing differences between parents and their offspring (Friedenberg, 1969; Angel, 1968; Richman, 1968). Davis (1940) identified certain universals in the parent-adolescent relationship which tend to produce conflict, the most important being the age differential. He suggested that cultural variables such as the rate of social change determine whether or not the universals will produce conflict. Extremely rapid social change tends to increase parent-youth conflict as the content which the parent acquired at the stage where the adolescent now is, was different. As anthropologist Margaret Mead (1970; p. 71) stated, "In a sense the adults of our society are immigrants to the present from a past that is largely irrelevant to coping with many present realities." This results in a cultural lag where the parental tendency is to respond to current situations in a way which reflects the previous generation's orientations (Brennan, 1978; p. 157). As Rappoport (1972; p. 293) points out, they may be reacting to today's problem according to yesterday's diagnosis, and trying to treat it with yesterday's medicine. This leads to conflicts in cultural norms and values. Munns (1972) found that adolescents perceive themselves as holding values quite different from their parents. Davis (1940) hypothesized that the parent will not catch up with the adolescent's point of view because he is supposed to dominate rather than follow. This idea is probably more attributable to the authoritarian, closed family structure where conformity is taught and expected. Authoritarianism and control are characteristics of the runaway adolescent's family (Foster, 1962). The major results of this generation gap

is a hindrance of communication and a lack of relevant role models for the adolescent.

Changes in family structure or changes in interpersonal relationships in the home (divorce, death, separation, parental discord) may also generate strain on normal family relationships. The extent that these stresses impinge upon adolescent needs and goals may contribute to the existence or extent of alienation.

Thus, adolescence alone is not necessarily a time of stress and strain but cultural conditions and certain universal factors characterizing the parents' and adolescent's developmental stages may create strain within the family. The degree to which this conflict is experienced is in part dependent upon other parent-adolescent interactional variables such as parental adjustment and patterns of child rearing. "Although youth in North American society may be exposed to potential stress creating variables, the nature of the actual parent-adolescent relationship may vary greatly, producing little or no conflict or rebellion" (Balswick, 1975; p. 253).

Psychological perspective

The idea of "not part of" is at the core of both sociological and psychological analysis of alienation. Sociologically, one is not a part of the cultural or familial social structure while psychologically one is not a part of themselves. While sociological analyses focus upon social-structural factors which appear to produce alienation, psychological analyses focus upon the individual's experience and expression of alienation.

Fromm (1955) suggests alienation is a condition in which the personality, especially the will of the individual is not expressed in a

particular role, that is his motivations do not coincide with the prescribed goals of the roles he plays. A sense of estrangement from what is felt to be one's real self is the result. Keniston (1960) describes alienation as the result of unfortunate developmental experiences or demands of society so that the individual feels he has lost touch with some inner core of his being and that much of what he does is empty, flat and devoid of meaning. In a similar vein, Otto and Featherman (1975) define alienation as a subjective phenomenon based on an individual's perceptions of his own realization of valued outcomes. It is perceived discordance between the real and ideal. Keniston (1960) suggests that many adolescents share what he calls "developmental estrangements": a sense of alienation or loss that comes with abandonment of childish ties to one's childhood self which was an egocentric world with the self at its center. How difficult this sense of estrangement will be to deal with depends to some extent on the particular kinds of childhood experiences the individual has had, and also on what he or she finds to take their place.

Thus, the adolescent experiences psychological dissonance, as well as dissatisfaction and disillusionment with his environment when he is unable to achieve goals or goal recognition of emerging needs. This dissatisfaction and disillusionment is reflected in Mitchell's (1975) involvement crises of belief, meaning and relatedness which characterize a large number of adolescents including runaways (Brennan, 1978; Shellow, 1967). Seeman (1959) has described several social-psychological states which characterize these crises. These include: powerlessness, which is conceived as the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrance of the outcomes

or reinforcements he seeks; meaningfulness, which is characterized by a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made; normlessness or the high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals; isolation or an individual's lack of commitment to family or cultural goals or beliefs; and self-estrangement which means to be something less than one might ideally be if the circumstances in society (or family) were otherwise. These social-psychological states can occur by themselves or in interrelationship with one another. For instance, the adolescent who feels powerless within his milieu is likely to develop feelings of isolation or lack of commitment to the common goals or beliefs of the group.

The consequences of these social-psychological states is frustration which directs the individual to seek adjustive behavior. Frustration is surely an important component of psychological stress, since virtually any serious harmful condition of human life will have as one consequence, the frustration of important human goals and this frustration requiring some adjustive activity to repair the damage, if possible, or to get along in spite of it (Lazarous, 1961). Adolescent runaway behavior acts as one form of adjustive activity.

Runaway Adolescents within a Social-Psychological Framework of Alienation

A social-psychological perspective assumes that alienation and the resultant runaway behavior results from an interaction between certain kinds of social conditions and the individual personality of the child. Central to this perspective is the concept of bonding -- the ties which bind an individual to their family determining the degree of commitment

to and integration within its structure. Two theories have been advanced which relate this concept of bonding with alienation and resultant runaway behavior. The strain theory of deviance focuses upon factors which erode family bonds while control theory emphasizes the failure of these bonds to develop.

Elliot and Voss (1974) adapted strain theory to a developmental model which begins with 1) alienation within a particular social context that results in 2) actual or anticipated failure to achieve social needs. The strain in the setting results in 3) an attenuation of one's commitment or attachment to conventional social norms and 4) feelings of personal alienation from that social context. With a weakening of family bonds and commitment to family goals and values, one is more free to engage in deviant behavior. Brennan (1978; p. 58) suggests that failure to achieve personal needs or valued goals results in running away when the youth becomes alienated from his/her parents or family, e.g. when the frustration or stress is severe enough to attenuate his/her commitment to the family and neutralize conventional social norms which define appropriate forms of behavior relative to the family.

Matza (1964) suggests that once youth have become alienated from their families, they are in a state of "drift" -- they are free from normal constraints or social controls on their behavior in that social context -- they are in a state of normlessness. Thus, they are free to engage in conforming or nonconforming behavior -- to run away or not. The likelihood of running away, once a youth is in a state of drift is in part dependent upon personality factors (Wolk and Brandon, 1977) as well as the youth's peer group (Brennan, 1978). "Exposure to peer groups supportive of runaway behavior is thus a major variable in the

linkage between an anomic family setting, failure to achieve personal needs and goals, and runaway behavior" (Brennan, 1978; p. 60).

Control theory views deviant behavior as the result of socialization processes which produce weak personal commitments to family or societal norms as well as low levels of integration into the family structure and weak internal bonds.

Stierlin, Levi, and Savard (1973) have described a family socialization process which facilitates an early separation of the youth from his or her family, in some cases actually pushing the youth out psychologically and physically. They call this pattern a centrifugal family pattern which is characterized by a lack of family cohesion. "Parents and subsequently their children locate their primary sources of gratification and security outside the family, their personal commitments and integration into the family are weak, open and frequent intra-family conflict is present, together with frequent rejection and neglect of their children" (Stierlin, Levi and Savard, 1973; p. 58). Toby (1974) suggests the following forms of faulty socialization may be important in the exhibition of antisocial behavior in that they lead to the inadequate development of internal bonds. These include: inadequate socialization such as too much or inconsistent discipline or neglect of child and inappropriate and ambivalent socialization where the parents transmit inappropriate norms to the child or confront the child with two or more sets of conflicting norms.

Thus, within control theory, youth have never experienced a strong bond to their families, so that runaway behavior is not so much a reaction to the family as an attraction to outside groups in an attempt to fulfill personal and social needs.

Stierlin (1974) presents a theoretical framework for understanding the separation process between adolescents and their parents which fits into both control and strain theories. According to Stierlin there are two structures which underlie and shape parent-child interactions. These include centripetal forces which bind the family together and centrifugal forces which separate and push family members apart. He combines these into three modes of family interaction: the binding mode, the delegating mode, and the expelling mode.

In the binding mode centripetal forces are dominant. The parent attempts to delay or prevent separation by binding through excessive gratification of affective needs, through imposing their own perceptions and definitions upon the child preventing him/her from acknowledging his/her own feelings and needs or by generating in the child excessive guilt at any thought of reducing his/her loyalty. Stierlin suggests that to the extent that these binding strategies are successful, the child will experience severe conflicts and will tend not to run away. There will be an impairment of the child's peer relationships encouraging dependency upon family bonds.

The delegating mode, according to Stierlin is found in parents who are themselves undergoing a developmental crisis. The child is manipulated so as to provide some solution to their problems. The child may be required to fulfill unrealized aspirations of the parents or engage in activities which compensate the parents' own unfulfilled adolescent development. Often in this mode, the adolescent is set against one parent by the other or pushed in different directions by each parent. These conflicts may serve to motivate the adolescent to run away.

Stierlin also bases the expelling mode upon parental developmental problems. The child is seen as a hindrance or a burden to their own personal development. The resultant neglect and rejection create a situation which makes it easy for the runaway to leave home.

Thus the preceding modes may act to weaken, erode or prevent the development of strong family bonds or commitments as a result of creating difficulty in adolescent's strivings for affection, security, belonging, and self-esteem and strivings for independence and identity.

A review of the literature on runaways supports the social-psychological perspective in that there is likely an interaction between the adolescent personality structure and environmental factors which produces runaway behavior. "The youngster who runs away ... can best be understood in terms of the interaction of significant intrapsychic maturational variables, current sociocultural factors, and the all important relationship of the child to his parents" (Kaufman, Allen and West, 1969; p. 720). The three social settings which contain the primary socializing agents for adolescents and which have been the focus of existing literature on runaways are the family, the school, and the peer group. However the family would appear to be the central agent (Brennan, 1978), and although external influences may impinge upon family relationships and their ability to provide for needs and goals the internal structure and dynamics of the family contribute to the degree of strain these impingements create.

The literature review of family environmental variables and personality characteristics of the runaway will be discussed separately as most studies focus on either a psychological or sociological perspective.

Adolescent Runaway Behavior -- Definition

Attempts to define the term runaway have been vague, general and inconsistent. "A precise, operational definition of the term runaway is an absolute necessity for any systematic research which is to examine the incidence of the general epidemology of runaway behavior. Yet, much of the early literature on the problems of runaways does not show any general consensus on a definition and does not provide explicit operational criteria of runaway behavior" (Brennan, 1978, p. 2).

Weiss and Walker (1975) note that almost half of the citations in the literature do not even bother to define the term. Others (English, 1973; Hiatt, 1970; Armstrong, 1932) use terms such as hippies, vagrants, street people, "crisis flight" persons, splitters and floaters loosely and interchangeably as synonyms for the term runaway, contributing to a semantic confusion.

The most common elements which enter various definitions of runaways but which contain inconsistencies include: an age factor, absence of parental consent, being away from home for some time period, motive or intention to leave home, reported (or not) as a missing person, and various psychological attributes. The focus of most definitions of runaway involves the 10-to-17 age group (Brennan, 1978; Shellow, 1967; Jenkins, 1971) since with 18 comes legal emancipation from parents.

"Absence from home without parental permission" is central to the meaning of runaway for a number of major studies (Beyer, 1974; Shellow, 1967; Jenkins, 1971; Suddeck, 1973). There is much less consensus about the "time away from home" element. Definitions have centered on varying time periods such as overnight, 24 hours, 8 hours, and so on. The study by Shellow (1967), however, argued that the length of time

away from home could merely be an accident of various circumstances or a reflection of the child's age, resources, or skills, and that the intent of the youth was of a far greater importance. However Brennan (1978) contends that time away can separate many of the extremely trivial cases from the more serious cases. In general, more serious runaway episodes involve being away from home overnight or being away from home for a greater period than 24 hours.

Some studies (Goldmeier and Dean, 1973) define a runaway according to whether or not the adolescent's name was included in missing persons records or whether they have been identified as a runaway by a juvenile court (Hildebrand, 1963). Others (Wolk, 1977) depend upon the adolescent's own understanding and report of running away.

The definition of the term runaway often makes use of psychological criteria, such as motives and intentions or certain psychological characteristics. For example, the American Psychiatric Association's diagnostic category of "the runaway reaction" is defined by some psychological characteristics. Finally, other definitions may include information on the place from which the adolescent ran -- whether it be a correctional institute, a foster home, or their natural home. Thus, reliable data to either compare different types of runaways or to compare different studies is difficult when so much inconsistency exists with the understanding of the term runaway.

For the purposes of this research a runaway is defined as, an adolescent between the ages of 10 and 17, inclusive, who has acted on the desire to run away by being absent from home for at least 24 hours, without parental or guardian permission.

Personality Characteristics of Runaways -- A Psychological Perspective

The literature supports the contention that runaway adolescents appear to exhibit differences in several personality variables than their non-runaway counterparts. A prevalent theme in the literature is that the runaway has severe problems of low self-esteem in comparison to non-runaways (Levinson and Mezei, 1970; D'Andelo, 1974; Wolk and Brandon, 1977). Norem (1975) found that runaways reported a greater gap between their perception of who they are, contrasted with what they felt they ought to be. One theory relating low self-esteem and running away is that youth with low self-esteem may overreact to stress, criticism or failure. Ziller, Hagery and Smith (1969) suggest that youth with low self-esteem may lack protection or buffering from critical evaluations by others and may react more strongly than other youth to situations of loss, failure, criticism, or stress in general. Thus, crises in the home, school or peer rejection may prove too much to cope with so that escape is sought in running away.

Another theme in the literature on runaways is their loneliness and friendlessness. Weiss (1973) found runaways' inability to establish peer relationships, their social isolation and resulting loneliness to be tied to their depression and low self-esteem. Beyer (1974) established that in comparison to their nonrunaway siblings, runaways were more depressed and had lower self-esteem, particularly in the context of home and school. Elenewski (1974) found male runaways to be less trusting of others, unsuccessful in interpersonal situations and more critical of themselves and others. These findings suggest that runaways may lack the peer support which could act as an alternative source of need satisfaction or identification when family environmental factors

have resulted in alienation. Weiss (1973) in discussing loneliness, suggested that the pain of loneliness leads to a variety of coping or buffering strategies, with "escape to greener pastures" being one of the major ploys used by lonely and depressed people.

Confusion, however exists in the psychological literature surrounding the variables of self-esteem and psychological states of depression and loneliness. Goldmeier and Dean (1973) and Chapman (1975) suggest that the runaway is not lacking in self-esteem while Chapman (1975) also reports them to be gregarious and active.

Variables of impulsivity and lack of "inner" control have also been the focus of considerable literature differentiating runaways from non-runaways. Beyer (1974) established that runaways had higher levels of "impulsivity" than a control group of nonrunaway siblings. He suggested two main theories of impulsivity, one being that a strong need for immediate satisfaction can impair or interfere with the maintenance of long-term goal orientation. The second explanation associates impulsivity with a weakened or lower acceptance and recognition of conventional normative values.

Several other personality variables have been reflected in the literature although more research is needed to establish conclusive evidence of the association of these traits with runaway behavior. Wolk and Brandon (1977) reported that runaways held a less favorable self-concept, specifically on the dimensions of anxiety, self-doubt, poor interpersonal relationships and defensiveness. Elenewski (1974) found female runaways to be more insecure, emotionally labile, more troubled and determined to extricate themselves from circumstances which they felt were beyond their control, while males were found to be more self-

centered, restless, anxious, dwelling on problems and self-doubts while often being headstrong and pleasure seeking. Goldberg (1972) described the "flight" person as being a "loner," as being impulsive, and as becoming excessively aggressive when frustrated.

Psychological correlates of alienation have also been found to characterize runaways. Stronger feelings of normlessness, societal estrangement, powerlessness and loss of control over their lives were found by Brennan (1978) to distinguish runaways from nonrunaways while Weiss (1973) reported feelings of social isolation. Goldberg (1972) noticed an extreme lack of attachment and especially a lack of any meaningful emotional attachments.

The psychological perspective suggests that runaway behavior originates as a direct result of these personality factors -- that the runaway is disturbed or sick or suffering from some sort of psychopathology. Although the psychopathology theme dominated early literature (Robey, 1964; Armstrong, 1932), it is still represented in more recent studies (Jenkins, 1971; Levinson and Mezei, 1970).

Armstrong (1932) described running away as a "psychoneurotic reaction" and suggested that runaway youth could be characterized by mental deficiency, subnormal intelligence, poor impulse control and an unstable makeup. Robins and O'Neal (1959) reported that runaways in a child guidance clinic had higher levels of psychoneurotic, psychopathic and especially sociopathic personality diagnoses. Riemer (1940) suggested that running away indicates a "severe narcissistic disorder" while Levanthal (1964) attributed "deficient regulatory mechanisms" to runaways. He suggests that the strong concern over loss of control in their lives, with "ego surrender" is an indication of prepsychotic functioning and

severe pathology.

This idea of runaway behavior as the result of inner forces rather than the impingement of external environmental influences has been challenged by recent research. These studies (Robey, 1964; Jenkins, 1971; Armstrong, 1932) have been based upon more representative sample groups studied by social workers, street workers, and runaway house workers rather than solely by therapists who were treating youth, as was largely the focus of clinical psychological studies.

These more recent studies suggest the importance of studying the interrelationship of environmental and personality factors of runaways. The dynamic elements of personality structure take their form in interpersonal relationships within the family. Jealousy, aggression and hostility are rooted in particular emotional situations in interpersonal relations. This means that these phenomena should be studied, not as if they were static elements in the personality but as factors in the dynamics of the relation between the self and others" (Burgess, Locke, Thomas, 1963; p. 229).

The personality factors perceived by the literature to characterize runaways, such as powerlessness, normlessness, societal estrangement, isolation and low self-esteem could in fact, be said to provide evidence of the runaway's weakened bonds and commitment to the family unit as well as inadequate or poor socialization rather than solely an internal pathology.

Family Environmental Characteristics of Runaway Adolescents -- A Sociological Perspective

Broken homes have often been made a convenient scapegoat for the

explanation of behavior disturbances in children including runaway behavior. D'Angelo (1974) sees runaway behavior as a symptom of family breakdown in America. Broken homes do in fact appear to characterize families of runaways to a greater extent than families of nonrunaways (Beyer, 1974; Shellow, 1967). However Shellow found that whether the home was broken or not, the homes of runaways were characterized by high levels of parent-adolescent conflict.

A sociological perspective suggests that contributing factors in running away is in the environment -- that running away can be seen as an appropriate escape or flight from an unhealthy or pathological family situation. "In the case of young people running away, the act is very often a sign of health. It is healthy for adolescents to want a respite from destructive situations they feel they can't control or affect. In running, they're not only abandoning their parents, often they're also abandoning their prescribed roles in scarring family dramas" (Brenton, 1978; p. 10). Runaways themselves most frequently cite problems at home as the reason for their flight (Brennan, 1978).

Bock and English (1973) suggest that the runaway act may be based on a profound level of insight into the meaning of the family situation and a high level of understanding. The adolescent may be aware that his or her development and fulfillment of needs are being hindered as a result of a pathological family situation. English (1973) and Ambrosino (1971) and others have suggested that a destructive environment may be a major contributing factor of runaway behavior.

Shellow (1967) noted that almost all teenagers experience conflict with parents, however he and others (Blood and D'Angelo, 1974; D'Angelo, 1974) report that conflict is more frequent and serious with

runaways. Dunford and Brennan (1976) found that there was a significant difference between runaway and nonrunaway adolescents perceiving conflict with parents on value issues as well as significant differences on minor and major issues.

Goldmeier and Dean (1973) found that regarding home situations and relationships with parents, runaways tended to feel 1) less at ease at home, 2) less warm toward mother and father, 3) that neither mother nor father were warm towards them, 4) that they were punished successively and undeservedly, and 5) that the relationship between the parents was an unhappy one. Howell (1973) found that most runaways felt parents did not respect them as individuals, did not allow them sufficient autonomy and did not take them seriously.

Thus, four variables can be extracted which appear in the literature to be contributors to the high rate of conflict characterizing families of runaway adolescents as well as being a focus of attention in the literature on socialization of adolescents. These variables include the dimensions of: control and freedom; punishment and discipline, acceptance and rejection and parental disposition. Quality of communication is a further dimension arising from the quality of home environment and type of control used and acceptance shown.

Control

Authoritarianism and control have been found to be characteristic of the runaway adolescents' family (Foster, 1962). In relating runaways to dropouts, Bachman (1971) found that a clear relationship exists between dropping out and parental punitiveness and control. Runaways also tend to be characterized by external control. Elenewski (1974) suggested that the manifestation of a tendency toward external control

by runaways indicates that they feel powerless and helpless in the face of environmental pressures. They are stifled in their struggle for independence as this struggle necessitates an ability to assert oneself which the authoritarian family does not allow. Females may suffer from too much parental control and restrictiveness and males too little since society encourages a dependent female and an independent male. Wolk (1977) verified this by reporting that runaway females perceived over-control within the home while males perceived under-control. Brennan (1978) found that parents of female runaways gave significantly higher scores for protectiveness than do parents of male runaways.

Balswick (1975) found that a very restrictive home leads to frustration and then to aggression in search of norms. Frustration results because the adolescent is not able to declare and see himself as a separate and worthy individual, capable of his own identity. A very permissive home on the other hand, as is often the case in male runaways, can result in feelings of parental rejection or disinterest.

Support

The degree to which parents are nurturant and affectionate, as opposed to rejecting is an important dimension of the parent-adolescent relationship. Acceptance of a child can be displayed by parental encouragement, faith and interest in their child and by a respect for their own individuality. Wein (1970) found that 65% of runaways said their parents did not know much about their attitudes and feelings and as well they had strong feelings that their parents didn't want to know more about them and were unwilling to receive communication on any subject where there might be disagreement. Coopersmith (1967) felt that parents who recognize the adolescent's right to self-expression and

dissent are demonstrating a form of acceptance. In a quantitative study by Brennan (1978), the relation between the runaway and his or her parents was less satisfactory than nonrunaways in the following: nurturance, positfve labeling, parental acceptance, parental satisfaction and parental interest in the adolescent. There were higher levels of expressive rejection, youth awareness of rejection and youth awareness of parental dissatisfaction.

Rejection of either or both parents by the adolescent or the parental rejection of the adolescent is an important factor in demonstrated aggressive behavior on the adolescent's part (Dunford, 1976). Running away may be overt aggression when adolescents do not have the power or are too afraid to displace their frustration and anger within the family for fear of the consequences.

Discipline

Extreme discipline practices and parental withdrawal of love are two tactics by which parents may attempt to control adolescents seeking autonomy, but which instead may act to erode family bonds or hinder their development. Brennan (1978) found parents of runaways to have higher scores for affective punishment, physical abuse, deprivation of privileges, and social isolation. They had lower scores for using principled discipline and affective reward as a means of discipline.

Parental Adjustment

The factors of extreme control and discipline as well as rejection would suggest that some degree of maladjustment characterizes the parent(s) or the runaway. Confirming this assumption, Wein (1970) found that the majority of runaways felt their parents were either unhappily married or unhappy as individuals while Goldmeier and Dean (1973)

found that 76% of runaways felt the relationship between their parents was an unhappy one. The results of Brennan (1978) suggested that parents of runaways exhibited higher marital conflict, higher family disruption, lower parental self-esteem, and somewhat higher levels of social alienation.

Communication

A disturbance to communication and quality of interaction between an adolescent and parent would likely be a resulting outcome of the preceding factors. Brennan (1978) reported that runaways spend less time with their parents than do nonrunaways. For both affiliative and instrumental companionship, the scores for the runaway family fell significantly below those of the nonrunaway family.

Thus, it could be that parents of runaways may tend to be poor socialization models for their children as well as utilize practices which may not support the achievement of an adolescent's needs for autonomy, security, acceptance, esteem and identity. The bonds between adolescent and parent may be eroded or weakened in their development. With this weakening may come a referent orientation to the adolescent's peer group. Runaway adolescents have been shown to exhibit orientation toward peers (Ambrosino, 1971).

CHAPTER IV

DESIGN

Introduction

This chapter describes the procedures and methods utilized to obtain and analyze data. Sampling procedures, instrumentation and statistical techniques are discussed.

The research was characterized by an exploratory ex post facto field study design. "Field studies are ex post facto scientific inquiries aimed at discovering the relations and interactions among sociological, psychological and educational variables in real social structures" (Kerlinger, 1973; p. 405). Exploratory study of possible relations and interactions has as its major purpose and emphasis a deeper insight and braoder understanding of the problem in focus as well as formulating tentative hypotheses. This type of reserach provides the groundwork for more intensive, highly structured research and more rigorous, systematic testing of hypotheses.

Family environmental variables and personality traits of adolescents with varying propensities to run away from home will be explored in this study to determine if differences exist between the sample groups. Independent variables are represented by adolescents reported family variables and perceived personality traits while the dependent variable is represented by adolescent propensity to run away from home.

Instrumentation

A sixteen page self administered questionnaire was developed which

consisted of four sections:

1) Demographic data

2) Attitudinal Information

3) Parent-Adolescent Relationship Information

4) A Personality Assessment

Demographic data

A demographic analysis provided a comparable picture of runaways and nonrunaways. The factors assessed were: age, grade point average, number of children in family, placement in family structure and marital situation of parent(s).

As well, occupation of both mother and father was obtained to examine the relationship between social class and runaway behavior as well as to determine if Shellow's (1967) contention that running away is a problem equally common at all levels of society including affluent families is supported.

Attitudinal information

This section was comprised of both open and closed questions designed to elicit information concerning motivational factors for running or not running away. Questions included:

1) Whether adolescents had ever run away and if so:
   a) Reason(s) for run
   b) Destination of run and where or with whom did they stay
   c) Frequency of runs and the length of time away
   d) Perception of impact of runaway behavior on solving their problem(s).
2) Whether adolescent has ever desired to run away but has not and if so:
   a) Reason for desire to run away

b) Strength of desire to run away

c) Frequency of desire to run away

d) Factors which prevented them from running away.

This section enabled the researcher to put adolescents on a scale of propensity to run away from home. Questions were also asked concerning the number of friends the adolescent had who had run away from home in order to see if a possible relationship existed between peer influence and runaway behavior.

Family relationships

A shortened version of Nye's Family Relationship scale was utilized to assess adolescents' reports of family background variables. Variables measured included: 1) Acceptance of rejection of parent 2) Parent acceptance or rejection of adolescent 3) Parental discipline 4) Parental control-freedom and responsibility 5) Family recreation 6) Family communication and 7) Parental disposition. Two questions were added concerning adolescents' perception of the happiness of their parents' relationship and how popular they perceived themselves to be.

A sample question from each scale is presented below. Most questions were answered separately for mother and father. The entire scale is located in the appendix.

Acceptance - Rejection: My (mother/father) encourages me to discuss my problems with (him/her):

1. Always____
2. Usually____
3. Sometimes____
4. Seldom____
5. Never____

Discipline: I am severely punished by my (mother/father):

1. very often____
2. frequently____
3. sometimes____
4. seldom____
5. never____

Control: Lets me argue with them: (Mother/Father gives

1. too little freedom____
2. about right____
3. too much____

Family Recreation: I enjoy (or would enjoy) being at home for an evening's entertainment with my (mother/father).

1. very much____
2. somewhat____
3. a little____
4. not at all____

Communication: Do you confide in your (mother/father) when you get into some kind of trouble:

1. all problems____
2. most problems____
3. some problems____
4. few problems____
5. no problems____

Parental Disposition: How easy is it to get your (mother/father) upset:

1. Very difficult____
2. Quite difficult____
3. Fairly easy____
4. Very easy____

Personality measure

Gough's Adjective Check List (Gough and Heilbrun, 1965) was used as a personality measure. The checklist was chosen for three reasons: a) the speed and simplicity with which it can be completed b) the applicability of personality traits measured in the check list compared to those associated with runaway behavior in the literature and c) the check list had previously been utilized in a study of runaway adolescents by Wolk (1978). The instrument consists of 300 adjectives commonly used to describe personal attributes. Of the twenty-four indices of self concept, ten were selected as being relevant to this study. These included:

1. Self-Confidence - assertiveness, affiliativeness, persistence.
2. Self-Control - conscientious, stable, dependable, adventurous.
3. Lability - need for change, rejection of convention and assertive individuality - impelled toward an endless flight from perplexities.
4. Personal adjustment.
5. Intraception - need to engage in tasks to understand one's and other's behavior.
6. Affiliation - need to seek and sustain numerous personal friendships.
7. Abasement - need to express feelings of inferiority through self criticism, guilt or social impotence.
8. Aggression - need to engage in behavior which attacks or hurts.
9. Change - need to seek novelty of experience.
10. Autonomy - need to act independently of others or of social values and expectations.

The instrument was completed by adolescents checking those adjectives which they felt were characteristic of themselves.

Reliability and Validity of Measures

A pre-test of the questionnaire was done with three adolescents aged 14, 15 and 17 who tested the questionnaire primarily for clarity and length of time completion. Four graduate students also critiqued the questionnaire. The major concerns identified were with possible difficulty with some of the vocabulary in the adjective check list and the length of time completion being longer than one hour -- the length of a class period. Concern with vocabulary difficulty was alleviated by providing individual help and by placing dictionary definitions for more difficult words on the classroom board. The length of time to complete the questionnaire did not prove to be a problem.

As well, a panel of faculty members previewed the questionnaire as to its clarity and any possible ethical problems. No problems were encountered.

Nyes family relationship scale

This scale was developed by Nye and utilized with adolescent delin-

quents. The scales were found to correlate with delinquency in theoretically expected directions (Nye, 1975).

Adjective check list

Previous use of the ACL both for basic research and counseling has been extensive (Newberry, 1967; Whitaker, 1967; Heilbrun, 1968). In use with adolescents the ACL has been utilized to study self-concept and adjustment in sexually delinquent and non-delinquent adolescent girls (Purcell, 1972); and personality correlates of creative potential (Cashdan, 1966) as well as Wolk's study on self perceived characteristics of runaway adolewcents (1978).

Gough (1960), Heilbrun (1958, 1962) and Heilbrun and Sullivan (1962) have attempted to establish construct validity for the scales by group criteria, individual life experiences, experimental choices and comparisons with other measures.

Gough and Heilbrun (1965) report reliability coefficients of from .61 to .75 between judges using the ACL to describe a group of subjects. The same authors report coefficients of correlation between each index and the total number of adjectives checked that substantiate the validity of each index.

Sampling Procedure

As this research assumes an "exploratory" nature, considerable diversity was desired in the sample groups in terms of age, social class, academic achievement and family structure. The runaway sample itself was characterized by adolescents from three diverse population settings so that three "types" of runaways could be said to have been sampled. The nonrunaway sample was also characterized by similiar diversity in order to provide a representative comparative group. This diversity in

sample characteristics provides a sample more representative of the general population under study and gives a broader insight into the influence of the independent variables.

Adolescents with varying propensities to run away from home were categorized into two sample groups of nonrunaways and runaways and then further subdivided into three sample groups for the purposes of this study. These groups included:

1) Adolescents who have participated in runaway behavior

2) Adolescents who have never run away from home but who have experienced a strong desire to

3) Adolescents who have experienced little or no desire to run away from home.

The population of both runaways and nonrunaways was comprised of adolescents aged 13 to 19 with an approximately equal distribution of males and females and all from the city of Edmonton.

The entire population of nonrunaways and 6 runaways were obtained from two Edmonton public schools. A Preparation for Living class at a large composite high school provided a sample of 24 grade 11 and 12 students while 25 grade nine students were obtained from a junior high school. Thus, two varying social class levels of family backgrounds were obtained with the high school being situated in a lower middle to middle class area and the junior high somewhat higher middle to upper middle class area.

Runaways were also obtained from two other sources, a group home for delinquent and emotionally disturbed adolescents and a runaway project. The group home provided a sample of seven adolescents who had been confined for varying reasons of: continual running away from home, inability of parents to control and discipline and participation in minor delinquent acts such as breaking and entering. A diversity existed in

economic level and structural arrangement of families. Four adolescents whom the researcher had spent considerable time counseling at a previous time, were obtained from the runaway project. They ranged in age from 13 to 16 and exhibited a variation in family income level, academic achievement and participation in "delinquent acts" although all had families characterized by both natural parents.

Data Collection

The questionnaire was completed individually by students at the junior and senior high schools as well as runaways from the runaway project. Completion time varied from 25 minutes to one hour.

Three visits were made by the researcher to the group home where each adolescent was aided separately in completion of the questionnaire. Vocabulary of these adolescents was found to be quite limited as well as attention span so that considerable help had to be given. Completion time ranged from 45 to 80 minutes.

Predictions

Based on the review of the literature one can suggest that differences will be found to exist in reported family environmental variables and personality characteristics between adolescents with varying propensities to run away from home. The following predictions were made:

1) Runaway adolescents and those strongly desiring to run away will perceive less acceptance by their parents and report less acceptance of them than nonrunaway adolescents with no desire to run away from home.

2) Runaway adolescents and those with a strong desire to run away will report their parents to be more punishing than those adolescents who

have never desired to run away from home.

3) Runaway girls and those girls strongly desiring to run away will report the most parental control while runaway boys and those strongly desiring to run away will report the least parental control.

4) Runaway adolescents and those strongly desiring to run away will perceive and report a more negative parental disposition than adolescents not desiring to run away.

5) Runaway adolescents and adolescents strongly desiring to run away will report a greater lack of communication with parents than the adolescent with no desire to run away.

6) Runaway adolescents will perceive and report themselves to be less self-confident, less personally adjusted and exhibiting lower degrees of abasement, less self-control and less affiliative and intraceptive than nonrunaway adolescents, as well as exhibiting greater aggressiveness and need for change.

Analysis

Nye's family relationship scale

To investigate the relationship between family environmental variables and propensity to run away from home, cross tabulation analysis was the method chosen. "A cross-tabulation is a joint frequency distribution of cases as defined by the categories of two or more variables." (SPSS, 1979; p. 70). As stated, independent variables are represented by family relationship factors of control, punishment, acceptance, communication and parental disposition while the dependent variables constitute the three categories of an adolescent's propensity to run away from home.

Cross tabulation was used for basically three purposes: 1) to identify possible relationships between variables 2) to allow for control of individual sex so that differences can be assessed 3) a clear and simple picture of the research material is obtained.

Reporting of statistically significant relationships was not appropriate in this research due to a small sample size. Where frequencies of less than 10 exist within a cell, as occurred with these results, statistical significance is generally inflated. A descriptive analysis, however, as was used supports the purpose of this research which was an exploratory study aimed at providing a broad perspective and understanding of influential factors involved in runaway behavior.

Adjective check list

A one-way multivariate analysis of variance was employed to assess overall differences between the two groups in regard to their self perceptions. Standard scores represented the dependent variables for each indice.

As a follow up procedure the F test was used with each index score to allow rejection or acceptance of the prediction that there is a difference in perceived personality attributes of runaways and nonrunaways.

Design and Sample Limitations

The two most serious weaknesses of the research exist as a result of 1) the ex post facto design and 2) the small sample size.

Ex post facto design

Kerlinger (1977) describes three major weaknesses of this design:

1. The inability to manipulate independent variables
2. The lack of power to randomize and
3. The risk of improper interpretation.

Thus, as a result of the lack of control possible in this type of design it is more difficult to infer any strong relationships between variables and certainly impossible to state a causal relationship. A host of other possible significant independent variables exist which by themselves or in interaction with other variables may act to influence the dependent variable. School problems, peer pressures, sibling rivalry are only a few of the many possible determinants of an adolescent's desire to run away from home.

A further concern includes the question of whether a methodological weakness exists in lack of precision of measurement of variables due to thefact that it is the "perception" of adolescents we are measuring. This perception is always open to distortion. However Ausubel (1954) notes that parent behavior affects the child's ego development only to the extent and in the form in which he perceives it. Shaefor (1965) suggests that although some controversy still exists as to the value of subjective reports of parental behavior, there is widespread agreement that the child's perceptions may be more related to his adjustment than the parents' actual behavior.

Sample size

The small sample size constitutes a limitation in that the smaller the sample the less confidence one can have in sample results. Sampling error is an inverse function of sample size -- the smaller the sample the larger the sampling error. Thus, any relationship which may be found to exist in this study holds very little power. However, the purpose of exploratory research is to suggest tentative predictions which provide the groundwork for more intensive studies.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This chapter reports the results of the tests utilized to compare adolescents with varying propensities to run away from home on a series of family and personal variables. This chapter is organized to include: a demographic description of each sample group; a description of the runaway experience as perceived by those adolescents who have run away; a discussion of factors which influenced an adolescent to desire to run away and those factors which prevented he or she from running away; a comparative description of reported family environmental characteristics; and self-perceived personality attributes.

For convenience and readability the three sample groups of adolescents will be referred to in abbreviated forms. These include:

Runaways = R

Nonrunaways with desire = NRD

Nonrunaways with no desire = NRND

Sample Characteristics

The sample of runaway adolescents consisted of seven males and nine females who ranged in age from 13-19 with a mean age of 16 years. Nonrunaway adolescents with desire were characterized by eight males and thirteen females aged 14-19 with a mean age of 16 years. Thirteen males and ten females aged 14-18 characterized nonrunaway adolescents with no desire, with a mean age of 16 years.

The majority of adolescents in all sample groups resided with both

their natural parents. This was reported by 62,5% of R, 73.7% of NRD and 76% NRND. Table 1 summarizes the parental structure of the family that the adolescents were currently living in.

TABLE 1

Parental Structure of Adolescent's Families

Structure	R n = 16	NRD n = 21	NRND n = 23	Row Total
Natural Parents	62.5%(10)	73.7%(14)	76%(19)	43
Father and Stepmother	0	5.3%(1)	0	1
Father only	6.3%(1)	0	4%(1)	2
Mother only	18.8%(3)	15.8%(3)	12%(3)	9
Adoptive Parents	6.3%(1)	5.3%(1)	4%(1)	3
Mother and Boy-friend	0	0	4% (1)	1
Relative	6.3%(1)	0	0	1
Column Total	16	19	25	60

A mean of 3.8 children was found to characterize those families of runaways while means of 4 and 3.4 respectively characterized the number of children in homes of NRD and NRND.

The position of the adolescent within the family structure was also reported. While 43.8% of runaways reported themselves to be the youngest child, 57.9% of NRD and 60.0% of NRND reported this. The remainder of each sample group were largely middle children (31.3% R; 21.1% NRD; 32% NRND) with very small percentages reporting themselves to be an only or oldest child.

Tables 2 and 3 summarize the occupations of father and mother respectively. It is noted that for runaways, fathers' occupations were fairly well distributed over professional to skilled occupations whereas

for NRD and NRND the occupations fell into the blue collar groups or below. While 32% of NRD and 38% of NRND had mothers who were homemakers only 21% of runaway's mothers were at home.

TABLE 2

Father's Occupation

Occupation	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
Professional and White Collar	38.5% (5)	11.1% (2)	23.8% (5)	12
High Blue Collar Low Blue Collar	46.2% (6)	55.6% (10)	19% (4)	20
Skilled Semi - Skilled	15.4% (2)	33.3% (6)	57.1% (12)	20
Column Total	13	18	21	52

TABLE 3

Mother's Occupation

Occupation	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
Professional and White Collar	21.4% (3)	5.3% (1)	8.3% (2)	6
High Blue Collar and Low Blue Collar	35.7% (5)	21.1% (4)	16.7% (4)	13
Skilled and Semi-Skilled	21.4% (3)	42.1% (8)	37.5% (9)	20
Homemaker	21.4% (3)	31.6% (6)	37.5% (9)	18
Column Total	14	19	24	57

Table 4 summarizes the reported grade average of each individual.

Runaways tended to report lower grades than with NRD or NRND although the difference was not great.

TABLE 4

Grade Average

Grade	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
A and B	33.3%(5)	42.1%(8)	56%(14)	27
C	46.7%(7)	57.9%(11)	36% (9)	27
D and F	20%(3)	0	8% (2)	5
Column Total	15	19	25	59
Mean	C+	C+	C+	

The Runaway Experience

In order to provide a broad perspective on the runaway experience itself, a series of questions were posed dealing with number of runs, destination, length of stay away from home, motivations and the perceptions of the impact of the runaway experience in helping to solve the problem which motivated the adolescent to run away.

Number of runs

Of the sixteen adolescents who had participated in runaway behavior, five had run away only once, five had run away twice, two had run away three times and four had run away more than three times.

Length of run

On the last time the adolescents had run away from home, the length

of time away varied from a few days (five adolescents), to several weeks (nine adolescents) to a month (three adolescents). Slight differences did exist between males and females with 60% of males reporting the longest time away was several weeks and 40% reporting months away while only 16.7% of females reported months and 83% several weeks.

Of the sixteen runaway adolescents, eleven reported returning home on their own with the remaining five returning either by police or parents. No difference was shown between males and females on this question.

Destination

In response to the question "how far did you go and where did you stay the last time you ran away," 57.1% of males and 75% of females reported they stayed with a friend within city limits. Forth-three percent of males and 25% of females stated their running took them a considerable distance such as Vancouver, Calgary and California where a large number of runaways(63.7%) stayed with a friend or a relative.

Motivations to run

A fixed answer question including seven factors as well as an "other" category for any further inclusions was used to allow runaways to report any single or group of factors which they felt motivated them to run away from home. Ten adolescents reported parents to be an influential factor; four felt school to be; seven reported a need for excitement and adventure to be a motivating influence; five felt it was a need for independerce while one adolescent reported a sibling conflict encouraged her to leave. As can be seen, several adolescents reported more than one influencing factor. The only factor differentiating males from females was the need for excitement and adventure. This was reported only by the male group.

Perceived impact of running away

Males and females were both evenly divided in response to the question, "Did running away help to solve your problem?". Of the total sixteen runaways, both males and females were evenly divided with four reporting "yes" and four feeling it did not help solve their problem.

Nonrunaway Adolescents Desiring to Run Away

This section has as its focus a description of those adolescents who have desired to run away but who haven't acted upon this desire. Factors which may have motivated them to seek escape and conditions which they perceived to have prevented the actual running away are presented.

Of the forty-four nonrunaway adolescents, twenty-eight reported some degree of desire to run away one or several times since they were ten years old. Seven reported this to be a weak desire, eleven reported a moderate desire and ten a strong desire.

As was done for the runaways, the adolescents were asked to respond to a fixed answer question listing seven factors along with an "other" category. Respondents were asked to indicate which of these influential factors may have contributed to their desire to escape. Conflict with parents was checked twenty-four times; school six times; the need for excitement and adventure was reported by only males three times; a need for independence was reported five times with four of these responses by females; and boyfriend problems were felt to be an influential factor by three females. The majority of respondents checked more than one response as an influential factor in their desire to leave.

A fixed answer question with an "other" category was also provided

to determine adolescents' perceptions as to what factors prevented them from running away. The major factor perceived was "nowhere to go" which was checked by thirteen adolescents. Nine felt it was in part due to a lack of money while seven thought running away would be too scary. The fear of going alone characterized six adolescents. Five respondents reported their families would be worried while four felt they would miss their family and friends. As in the previous question, the majority of adolescents attributed more than one factor to their inability to act out their desire to run away.

Family Environmental Characteristics

Family environmental characteristics as measured by Nye's Family Relationship scale are the focus of this section. The descriptive results of the comparative analysis of adolescents with varying propensities to run away, on the family environmental variables of acceptance, discipline, control, parental disposition and communication will be summarized.

Acceptance

The prediction to be measured concerning the variable of acceptance is that: Runaways and nonrunaways with desire will perceive less acceptance by their parents and report less acceptance of them than nonrunaways with no desire.

Acceptance of mother

Two questions were utilized to ascertain an adolescent's acceptance of their mother. The first question asked, "If it were possible to change real parents into ideal parents what would you change about your mother?" For females, the results were interesting in that the trend went opposite to what was expected according to previous research and the proposed prediction. Within the runaway female group, 77.8% reported they

would change nothing about their mother compared to only 41.7% of NRD and 50% or NRND. Results are reported in Table 5.

TABLE 5

Acceptance of Mother - Female

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
	0	8.3% (1)	0	1
One or two things	22.2% (2)	50% (6)	50% (5)	13
Nothing	77.8% (7)	41.7% (5)	50% (5)	17
Column Total	9	12	10	31

For males, differences existed which supported the predictions. While 78.6% of those with no desire reported they would change nothing about their mother only 50% of runaways and 42.9% of NRD reported similarly. Remaining R and NRD however, desired to change only "one or two things" so that in general, it could be said a fairly high acceptance of their mother is indicated.

The second question of acceptance of mother concerned itself with "Do you often think, 'Oh, what's the use!' after you have tried to explain your conduct to your mother?" The relationship for females between the three groups exhibited a trend supporting the prediction. Those reporting feeling "Oh, what's the use," "fairly often," included 77.8% of R, 91.7% of NRD but only 50% of NRND. Results are shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6

Acceptance of Mother - Female

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
Often	77.8% (7)	91.7% (11)	50% (5)	23
Sometimes	22.2% (2)	8.3% (1)	50% (5)	8
Column Total	9	12	10	31

The male population also exhibited a trend on this question which supported the prediction made. While only 35% of NRND reported feeling "Oh, what's the use," "fairly often" -- 66.7% of R and 71.4% of NRD perceived themselves in this category. Results are reported in Table 7.

TABLE 7

Acceptance of Mother - Male

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
Often	66.7% (4)	71.4% (5)	35.7% (5)	14
Sometimes	33.3% (2)	28.6% (2)	57.1% (8)	12
Seldom	0	0	7.1% (1)	1
Column Total	6	7	14	27

A second category of acceptance focused on the adolescent's perceived acceptance by their parents. Generally a fairly high level of mother's acceptance of their daughter was indicated for all groups. On the question "My mother is interested in what I do", 77.8% of R, 75% of NRD and 90% of NRND reported their mother to be "always or usually" interested in them compared to only 50% R reporting similarly. The remaining runaways were approximately evenly distributed between feeling "sometimes" and "seldom or never".

On the second variable of acceptance by their mother -- "My mother encourages me to discuss my problems with her" -- an interesting difference was found between females in the R and NRD group. While only 11% of R and 10% of NRND reported their mother as "seldom or never" encouraging them to discuss their problems, a much higher -- 41.7% -- of the NRD group felt this to be the case. Males were approximately evenly distributed on this variable between reporting their mother as "always or usually" or "sometimes" encouraging discussion.

For both males and females, the third variable -- "Does your mother say and do things to make you feel not trusted?" -- was characterized by a strong trend supporting the prediction. Those in the female group reporting feeling "not trusted" -- "very often or usually" -- included 44.4% of R and 66.7% of NRD compared to only 10% of NRND. Results are shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8

Acceptance by Mother - Female

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
Usually or often	44.4% (4)	66.7% (8)	10% (1)	13
Sometimes	33.3% (3)	8.3% (1)	30.0% (3)	7
Seldom	22.2% (2)	25.0% (3)	60.0% (6)	11
Column Total	9	12	10	31

Within the male group on this variable, 64.3% of NRND reported their mother to "seldom or never" make them feel not trusted, compared to only 33.3% of R and 28.6% of NRD. Table 9 reports the results.

TABLE 9

Acceptance by Mother - Male

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
Very often	16.7% (1)	28.6% (2)	21.4% (3)	6
Sometimes	50.0% (3)	42.9% (3)	14.3% (2)	8
Seldom	33.3% (2)	28.6% (2)	64.3% (9)	13
Column Total	6	7	14	27

Acceptance of father

A trend in the direction of the prediction is shown in the first variable of females' acceptance of father. Those reporting they would want to change "just about everything" or "a large number of things" about their father included 33.3% of both R and NRD compared to 0% of NRND. Eighty percent NRND, 66.7% of R and 41.7% of NRD felt they would change nothing. Males also exhibited a similar trend. Of those reporting they would want to change "just about everything" or "a large number of things" about their father, 57.1% were NRD, 33.3% were R and 0% were NRND. Results are shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10

Acceptance of Father - Male

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
A large number of things	33.3% (2)	57.1% (4)	0	6
A few things	33.3% (2)	28.6% (2)	33.3% (4)	8
Nothing	33.3% (2)	14.3% (1)	66.7% (8)	11
Column Total	6	7	12	25

For the female population, results of the second variable "Do you think, 'Oh, what's the use', after you have tried to explain your conduct to your father" went opposite to what was predicted. Those reporting feeling this "often"included 63.6% of NRD, 55.6% of NRND but only 20% of runaway females. A strong trend according to the predictions

characterized males on this variable. While only 33% NRND felt "Oh, what's the use", "often", a much higher 66.7% of R and 100% of NRD perceived similarily. Results are shown in Table 11.

TABLE 11

Acceptance of Father - Male

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
Often	66.7% (4)	100% (7)	33.3% (4)	15
Sometimes	33.3% (2)	0	66.7% (8)	10
Never	0	0	0	0
Column Total	6	7	12	25

Both male and female R and NRD indicate in the three variables representing acceptance by their father that they perceive fairly low acceptance.

A strong trend according to the prediction was exhibited for females on the first variable, "My father is interested in what I do". Those reporting their father to be "always or usually" interested, included 100% of NRND but only 36.4% of NRD and 33.3% of R. Results are shown in Table 12.

TABLE 12

Acceptance by Father - Female

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
Usually	33.3% (2)	36.4% (4)	100% (9)	15
Sometimes	16.7% (1)	45.5% (5)	0	6
Seldom	50% (3)	18.2% (2)	0	5
Column Total	6	11	9	26

The male group on this variable was characterized by 75% NRND reporting their father to be "always or usually" interested in what they do compared to only 50% of R and 42.9% of NRD reporting similarly.

Results of the second variable of acceptance by father "My father encourages me to discuss my problems with him", also appear to support the prediction. For females, a generally high level of lack of encouragement was indicated with only 16.7% of R, 9.1% of NRD and 22% of NRND reporting their fathers to"always or usually" encourage discussion of problems. The difference between the groups which lends support to the prediction came within the remaining two categories of "sometimes" and "seldom" encouraging discussion. While the remaining majority of R (66.7%) and NRD (63.6%) perceived their father to "seldom" encourage discussion of their problems, the remaining majority of NRND (55.6%) reported their father to "sometimes" encourage discussion. All three groups within the male population also reported generally low acceptance

with 66.7% or R, 83.3% of NRD and 50% of NRND perceiving their father to "seldom or never"encourage discussion of problems.

The third variable of acceptance by father, "Does your father say and do things to make you feel not trusted" also reports a trend in the direction of the prediction for both males and females. Of females, those reporting their father "often or frequently" made them feel not trusted, included 60% R, 36.4% NRD but only 11.1% NRND. Within the male group, 33% of each R and NRD compared to 0% NRND felt their father to "often or frequently" make them feel not trusted.

Summary of acceptance variables

Runaway girls exhibited considerably greater desire to change "nothing" about their mother than NRD or NRND contrary to what was predicted. Male runaways, on this variable supported the prediction. NRND desired to change fewer things about their mother than NRD or R. Within the groups of R and NRD both males and females reported feeling "Oh, what's the use" considerably more often than their NRND counterparts.

Females and males in all groups reported their mothers to be fairly interested in what they do, although male runaways report somewhat lower levels than any other group. A considerably greater number of NRD than R and NRND, reported their mother to "seldom" encourage them to discuss their problems. Feelings that their mother trusted them was an important variable for both males and females, in that both R and NRD perceived considerably less trust than their non-runaway counterparts. Thus, the last variable was the most important in acceptance by their mother and in supporting the predictions proposed.

Greater numbers of R and NRD for both males and females desired to change "a large number of things" about their father than NRND ado-

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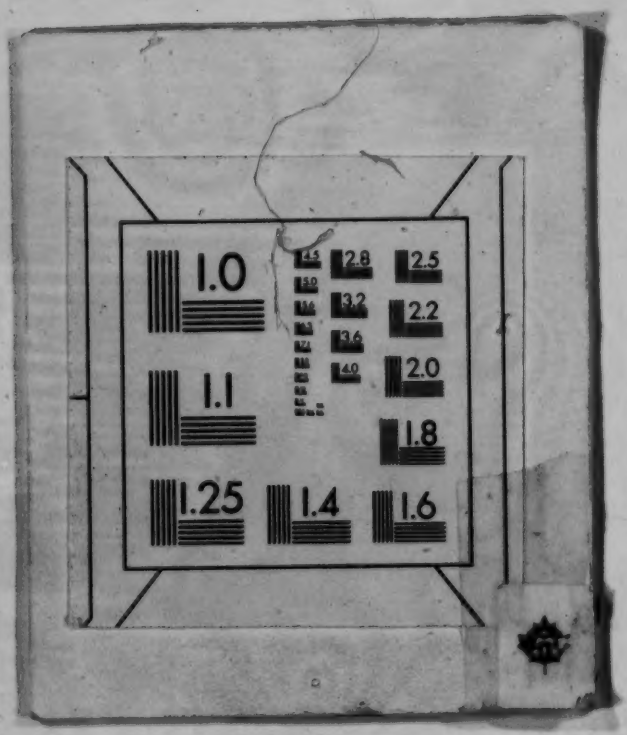

lescents. Again, female runaways were found to exhibit higher levels of acceptance than NRD or NRND in that a considerably smaller percentage of them reported feeling "Oh, what's the use" with their father "often". For males, the relationship was in the direction of the prediction.

Thus, for adolescents' reported acceptance of their father the only trend not in keeping with the prediction was runaway females higher level of acceptance on the variable of "Oh, what's the use."

Both male and female R and NRD indicate they perceive fairly low levels of acceptance by their father. A strong relationship characterized the variable of "My father is interested in what I do" with considerably fewer R and NRD than NRND reporting "usually".

Males and females in all three groups perceived a lack of encouragement by their fathers to discuss their problems. Although the relationship of feelings of a lack of trust by their father was not as strong as that found for mothers, differences were found. Female runaways reported stronger feelings of lack of trust than NRD who in turn reported stronger feelings than NRND. In the male group, a trend supporting the prediction was illustrated with combined group of R and NRD perceiving similar levels of trust which was lower than NRND. Thus in general differences are shown between groups in acceptance by father which support the prediction.

Discipline and Punishment

Two sections are included within the category of discipline and punishment. The first deals with adolescents' perceived fairness and strictness of parental discipline while the second section deals with the particular types of punishment a parent may use as a form of disci-

pline. The research prediction tested was that runaway adolescents and those with a desire to run away would report their parents to be more punishing than those with no desire to run away from home.

Fairness and strictness of parental discipline

Mother's discipline

Female runaways and NRD reported interesting results in response to the statement "When my mother punishes me she is fair about it". Only 40% of NRND reported their mother to be "always or usually" fair about punishment compared to a greater number of R (77.8%) and NRD (66.7%). Thus although similarities do exist between female R and NRD, it is in a surprising direction. Almost no difference was found between the three groups of males in their perceptions of the fairness of their mothers' punishment. Over 50% in each group reported it to be "always or usually" fair with the remaining equally divided between feeling it to be "sometimes" and "seldom" fair.

A similarity within all groups exists in females' and males' responses to "I am punished when I don't deserve it". Approximately 75% of each group reported "seldom or never".

Within both male and female populations, the major difference between groups on the third variable, "Do you think your mother disciplines you more severely than other mothers discipline their children?" was found to exist for NRD. Within the female group, 77.8% of R and 70% of NRND reported they were "never" or "seldom" punished severely while only 33.3% of NRD reported similarily. Within the male group, while 83.3% of R and 92.3% of NRND reported their mother as "seldom or never" disciplining them more severely, only 51.5% of NRD responded this way. The remainder of both male and female groups reported their mother as

"sometimes" disciplining them more severely than other mothers.

Father's discipline

In females' perceptions of their father's fairness of punishment results again were found to differ in the reports of NRD as compared to R and NRND. While 80% of R and 66.7% of NRND reported their father as always or usually being fair, only 45.5% of NRD responded this way. The remaining NRD, felt their father to be "sometimes" fair about punishment. Similarities existed between the three groups of males in their response to perceived fairness of their father's punishment. Each group was approximately evenly divided between reporting fairness "often or usually" and "sometimes".

The three groups of females perceived similarly that they were "seldom or never" or only "sometimes" punished when they didn't deserve it. A very small percentage of NRD (18.2%) reported "often". The NRD also differentiated the male group on this variable. While 83% of R and 72.7% of NRND reported "seldom or never" being punished by their father when it wasn't deserved, only 50% of NRD responded similarly.

In reporting whether they perceived their father to discipline them more severely than other fathers disciplined their children differences were noticed in the female and male groups. Of those responding that their father "seldom or never" disciplined more severely, 60% were R's, 45.5% were NRD and 88.9% were NRND. Within the male group 9.17% of NRND and 66.7% of R reported feeling their father "never or seldom" disciplined more severely than other fathers, while only 33.3% of NRD reported this.

Modes of punishment and discipline

Scolding: Of the males reporting their parents to "always or us-

ually" scold when they did something their parents didn't like, 42.9% were NRND, 57.1% were R and 71.4% NRD. Females did not exhibit this difference between R and NRD. While 77% of R and 66.7% of NRD females reported their parents to "always or usually" scold when they misbehaved only 54.5% of NRND responded similarly.

Nag Continuously: A trend supporting the research prediction was indicated for male adolescent's perceptions of parental use of nagging continuously as a form of punishment for undesired behavior. Of NRND, 85.7% reported their parents to "never or seldom" nag compared to 42.9% of NRD and 57.1% of R. Results are reported in Table 13.

TABLE 13

Parent's Discipline - Male

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
Never or seldom	57.1% (4)	42.9% (3)	85.7% (12)	19
Always or usually	42.9% (3)	57.1% (4)	14.3% (2)	9
Column Total	7	7	14	28

Female adolescents' responses also conformed to support the research prediction. While 66.7% of R and 50% of NRD reported their parents to nag continuously "usually or often" when they misbehaved only 36.4% of NRND reported similarly.

Reduced allowance or fine me: A slight difference existed within

the male group in perceiving this form of punishment. While 100% of each NRD and NRND reported their parents as "seldom or never" utilizing this means, slightly fewer (71.4%) R reported this.

A slightly greater difference was found in the females' perceptions, with 100% of NRND, 83.3% of NRD and only 66.7% of R reporting that parents "seldom or never" reduce their allowance or fine them.

Refuse to let me go to entertainment: Differences between male groups did exist on this variable but not in the direction expected. Both R and NRND perceived similarly while the NRD reported differently. While only 14.3% of R and 7.1% of NRND reported their parents to always or usually refuse to allow them to go to entertainment, a considerable larger number of NRD (57.1%) reported this.

A relationship supporting the research prediction was indicated for females on this variable. While 55.6% of R and 25.0% of NRD reported their parents to "always or usually" refuse to allow them to go to entertainment when they have misbehaved, 0% of NRND reported this degree of strictness.

Spank, hit or beat me: For both males and females, no difference was shown between groups with the majority reporting "seldom or never".

Don't punish but discuss the matter with me: The trend for males and females within this variable is in support of the research prediction with 85.7% of NRND males reporting always or usually compared to 64.3% of NRD and 57.1% of R. Within the females 81% NRND, 41.7% NRD and 55.6% R reported their parents to "always or usually" discuss the matter with them.

Make me feel they don't love me: A relationship existed in support of the research prediction for males with 100% of NRND reporting "seldom or never" compared to 85.7% of each R and NRD. In the female

group 100% of NRND, 91.7% NRD and only 66.7% of R felt their parents to "seldom or never" make them feel unloved.

Make me feel I am hurting them by my misbehavior: A relationship strongly in support of the research prediction characterized the males of whom 85.7% R and 100% NRD compared to only 42.9% of NRND reported their parents to always or usually make them feel they were hurting them by their misbehavior. Results are presented in Table 14.

TABLE 14

Parent's Discipline -- Male

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
Always or usually	85.7% (6)	100% (7)	42.9% (6)	19
Seldom or Never	14.3% (1)	0	57.1% (8)	9
Column Total	7	7	14	28

The female group was also characterized by differences in the direction of prediction. Those who reported their parents felt hurt by their misbehavior included 88.9% of R and 58.3% of NRD and only 36.4% of NRND.

Make fun or ridicule me: No difference exists within groups of males or females with the majority of each reporting "seldom or never".

Just ignore it: For both males and females in all three groups similarities were shown with 80 to 100% in each group reporting their

parents to "seldom or never"ignore their misbehavior.

Summary of Discipline and Punishment

In general, it appeared that runaway males and females perceived fairness and lack of severity in punishment from both their father and mother. Where differences did exist between the groups, they differentiated the NRD adolescent who appeared to perceive less fairness and greater severity. One exception did exist to this finding however, where both the NRD and R females perceived greater fairness of their mother in her administration of punishment than their NRND counterparts.

In summarizing the various modes of discipline it would appear that both R and NRD are characterized by greater use of parental punishment of a "love withdrawal" orientation than NRND who report greater parental use of "principled" discipline where the behavior is discussed rather than punished. Thus support is provided for the research prediction that R and NRD would report their parents to be more punishing than NRND.

Control and Freedom

The research prediction for the variables of control and freedom were: Runaway girls and girls strongly desiring to run away will report the most parental control while runaway boys and those strongly desiring to run away will report the least control.

Mother's control

Differences were found to exist between groups on the amount of freedom females perceived their mother giving on whom they dated. While 100% of NRND felt their mother gave the right amount of freedom only 58.3% NRD and 44.4% R perceived this. The remaining number of NRD perceived their mother as providing too little freedom while runaways were

equally divided between feeling it was too much and too little. Within the groups of male adolescents, 78.6% NRND and 71.4% NRD reported their mother gave them the right amount of freedom on whom to date while only 33.3% reported similarly. Of the remaining runaways 33.3% felt they had too much freedom and 16.7% perceived it to be too little.

On the variable of "when to get home at night", female NRND and NRD were both evenly divided (50%) between feeling the freedom was "about right" or "too little". Of female runaways, 66.7% reported it to be "about right" -- slightly higher than the previous group -- while 22.2% felt they had too much freedom and 11.1% felt it was "too little". Of males who reported they had about the right amount of freedom concerning when to get home at night, 78.6% were NRND, 42.9% were NRD while only 16.7% of R felt this. The remaining members of NRND and NRD perceived too little freedom, while of the remaining runaway males 33.3% perceived "too little" freedom and 50% felt they had too much freedom. Results are shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15

Mother's Control - Male

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
Too little	33.3% (2)	57.1% (4)	14.3% (2)	8
Too much	50% (3)	0	25% (1)	4
About right	16.7% (1)	42.9% (3)	78.6% (11)	15
Column Total	6	7	14	27

In response to the third variable "My mother lets me argue with her" similarities existed between the groups of males and females and within the three categories of propensity to run. Fifty percent of NRND perceived freedom to argue with their mother about right compared to approximately 55% of NRD and 33.3% of R in both male and female categories. The majority of the remaining adolescents desired more freedom in arguing. However 28.6% of NRND reported they would like less freedom.

In response to the question, "When my children are the age that I am, I will give them the following amount of freedom", a trend was indicated in support of the prediction. While 50% of NRND females felt they would give the same as their mother, only 33.3% of each R and NRD reported this. The remaining majority of each group felt they would give their children more freedom. A greater difference was found to exist in the male population in response to this variable. While 57.1% NRND reported they would give their children the same amount of freedom, 42.9% of NRD felt they would and only 16.7% of R responded this way. While remaining NRND and NRD reported they would give their children more freedom, of the remaining R males 33.3% reported they would give less freedom while 50% felt they would give more freedom.

Father's control

On the variable of amount of father's freedom on whom to date strong differences existed between R and NRD females and their NRND counterparts. However responses of the R were not entirely according to the research prediction. While 100% of NRND reported the freedom to be "about right", only 36.4% NRD and 40% R responded similarly. Remaining NRD responded that the freedom was too little while remaining runaway females were characterized by 20% feeling they had too much

freedom on whom to date, and 40% reporting too little. Male adolescents' responses on this variable were also characterized by a considerable difference between groups. While both NRND and NRD males reported high percentages (75% and 83.3% respectively) in responding they felt their father gave them the right amount of freedom on whom to date, only 16.7% of R felt this. Remaining NRND and NRD perceived too little freedom. Of the remaining R males, 50% perceived too much freedom while 33.3% felt they had too little freedom.

Slightly fewer R females (40%) than NRD (63.6%) and NRND (66.7%) perceived the amount of freedom given by their father to be "about right" on when to get home at night. "Too little" freedom was reported by remaining NRND and NRD while of the remaining R females, 40% reported "too little" and 20% "too much". For the male group, this variable was characterized by considerable differences between NRND and their R and NRD counterparts. Ninety-two percent of NRND reported that they had the right amoung of freedom given by their father on when to get home at night, compared to 50% of NRD and only 33.3% of R. While the remaining 50% of NRND desired more freedom, remaining runaways were divided evenly (33.3%) into desiring more or less freedom.

The third variable "Lets me argue with him" was characterized by a trend for both males and females which provides support for the research prediction. Of the females, 60% NRND reported their father to give them the "right amount" of freedom to argue with him while only 27.3% of NRD and 20% R felt similarly. Fourty percent of R felt they had too little freedom to argue while also 40% felt they had too much. Remaining NRD perceived too little freedom. A similar trend existed for males with 58.3% NRND perceiving an "about right" freedom to argue with

their father compared to 33.3% of NRD and 16.7% R perceiving similarly. Most of the remaining males felt they had too little freedom except for 16.7% of each NRND and NRD who perceived too much freedom to argue.

A relationship providing some support in the direction of the research prediction characterized females on the variable of "When my children are the age that I am, I will give them the following amount of freedom ...". While 66.7% of NRND felt they would give the same amount of freedom as their father 18.2% of NRD and 0% of R reported similarly. Results are shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16

Father's Control - Female

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
More	100% (5)	63.6% (7)	33.3% (3)	15
The same	0	18.2% (2)	66.7% (6)	8
Less	0	18.2% (2)	0	2
Column Total	5	11	9	25

A similar trend existed for males' responses on this variable. Those reporting they would give their children the same amount of freedom included 46.2% of NRND, 16.7% NRD and 16.7% R. However, while the remaining majority of NRND and NRD felt they would give more freedom, runaways were divided between desiring to give more freedom (33.3%) and

less freedom (50%) to their children.

Summary of control and freedom

In general, runaway males and females were found to express a greater dissatisfaction with the degree of freedom given by their mother and father than their NRND counterparts. On the variables of "whom to date", "freedom to argue with mother" and "amount of freedom they would give their children" greater numbers of runaways than NRND perceived either "too little" or "too much" freedom. Male runaways also exhibited this difference on the variable "when to get home at night". NRD and R adolescents perceived similarly on many variables that the amount of freedom given was not satisfactory, however while the runaway was usually divided between desiring more or less freedom the NRD adolescent usually desired more freedom.

Thus, although R and NRD do express dissatisfaction with parental use of control the research prediction was not supported. Although the majority of females within the R group did perceive over-control a sizeable percentage also perceived under-control, while within the male R population a sizeable percentage also perceived over-control contrary to the research prediction.

Parental Disposition

The research prediction concerning the variable of parental disposition was: Runaway adolescents and adolescents strongly desiring to run away will perceive and report a more negative parental disposition than those not desiring to run away.

Mother's disposition

The majority of male adolescents felt it to be fairly easy to

please their mother. Eighty-three percent of R, 71.4% of NRD and 85% of NRND reported this. Females however, reported slightly lower degrees of ability to please their mother. While 90% of NRND felt it to be fairly easy to please their mother, only 58.3% of NRD and 55.6% of R reported similarly, with the remaining perceiving it to be fairly difficult. Thus a trend exists which supports the research prediction.

On the variable "Is your mother very moody?" only a slight difference existed between the males' response, with 21.4% of NRND, 28.6% NRD and 33.3% R reporting their mother to be "always or very often" moody. Again a slightly greater difference existed between females' responses and their male counterparts. Those reporting their mother to be "always of very often" moody included 44.4% of R and 50% of NRD as compared to only 20% of NRND. An interesting relationship existed in the category of perceiving their mother to be "seldom or never" moody. Twenty percent of NRND and 8.3% NRD fell into this category, however a somewhat high 33.3% of R perceived their mother to be "seldom or never" upset.

In reporting whether their mother "took it out on them, when something went wrong which had nothing to do with them", slight differences were observed between each of the groups of males. While 64% of NRND and 57.1% of NRD felt their mother to "seldom or never" take it out on them only 33.3% of R reported this. Of the three groups only 14.3% of NRD reported their mother to "often" take it out on them. It is within this category of "often" which differentiates males from females. A considerably higher percentage of females fell into this category -- 40% NRND, 50% NRD but only 22.2% R -- indicating a generally higher percentage of females than males perceiving their mother to "take it out

on them".

A relationship in support of the research prediction was found to characterize females on the variable "How easy is it to get your mother upset?". While 91.7% of NRD and 77.8% R reported it to be fairly easy only 40.0% of NRND perceived similarly. Table 17 reports the results which support the research prediction.

TABLE 17

Mother's Disposition - Female

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
Easy	77.8% (7)	91.7% (11)	40% (4)	22
Difficult	22.2% (2)	8.3% (1)	60% (6)	9
Column Total	9	12	10	31

Interesting results were obtained from the male population on this variable. While 64.3% of NRND and 71.4% of NRD perceived it to be fairly easy to get their mother upset, yet only 33.3% of runaways reported similarly.

Father's disposition

In males' reports of "How easy it is to please their father", 61.5% of NRND, 66.7% of NRD and only 33.3% R felt it to be "fairly easy". Runaway females and female NRND reported a slightly more positive father's disposition with 80% R and 88.9% NRND feeling it to be "fairly easy" to please their father. Only NRD responded differently, with only

54.5% perceiving it to be "fairly easy".

All groups of males responded similarly to the variable "Is your father ever moody?". The majority of each group reported either "sometimes" or "seldom", and with an approximately equal distribution between each. A relationship within this variable was obtained for females however which did not lend support to the research prediction. While 27.3% NRD and 44.4% NRND perceived their father as being "seldom" moody, 80% of R reported this.

In response to the third variable of father's disposition, "When something goes wrong which had nothing to do with you, does your father take it out on you?", 66.7% NRND, 50% NRD and 33.3% R reported "seldom or never". Greater discrepancies, however existed between the groups of their female counterparts. While 55.6% NRND and 27.3% NRD reported their father to "seldom or never" take it out on them, a considerably higher proportion (80%) of R females reported this.

On male perceptions of "how easy it was to get their father upset", 50% NRND and 50% R felt it was "fairly easy" as compared to 83.3% of NRD. Female runaways reported the most positive father disposition of all gropus on this variable. While 81.8% NRD and 55.6% NRND felt it to be "fairly easy" to get their father upset only 20% of R females felt this to be the case.

Summary of Parental Disposition

While males generally in all groups felt it easy to please their mother and that she was "seldom or never" moody, reports of females differed.

Female R and NRD felt it more difficult to please their mother than their NRND counterparts, as well as perceiving their mother to be moody

"more often" of the time and more easily upset. Males, on the other hand differed on this last variable. Runaway males felt their mother to be less easily upset than NRD or NRND perceived their mother.

In adolescent perceptions of their father's disposition the majority of both males and females perceived it to be "fairly easy" to please their father except for a fairly large percentage of R in the male group and a slightly larger percentage of NRD in the female group, who perceived it to be more difficult to please their father.

While the majority of males in all groups felt their father to be "seldom" moody, within the female group a considerably higher percentage of females R than NRD or NRND reported their father as "seldom" moody. A much higher percentage of runaway females and males than NRD or NRND felt their fathers to "never or seldom" take it out on them. Considerably more NRD males felt it to be fairly easy to get their father upset while in the female group runaways felt it to be much more difficult than any other group.

Communication

The research prediction concerning the variable of communication was: Runaway adolescents and adolescents strongly desiring to run away will perceive and report a greater lack of communication within the family context than the adolescent with no desire to run away from home.

Communication with mother

In response to the question "Do you confide in your mother when you get into some kind of trouble", similarities were found to exist between the reports of male R and NRND, contrary to the predictions of the research hypothesis. While these groups were divided approximately

evenly in responses between the categories of "most problems, some problems and very few problems" a fairly high percentage of NRD (71.4%) reported they only confided in their mother "very few" problems. Females, however provided support for the research prediction. While 40% NRND reported they confided "most problems" to their mother only 25% NRD and 22.2% R responded similarly.

A trend characterizing the research prediction was shown to characterize males on the variable "Do you enjoy talking over your plans with your mother?". While 64.3% of NRND indicated "usually" only 28.6% NRD and 33.3% R reported similarly. A similar trend existed for females with 60% NRND, 41.7% NRD and 33.3% R reported they "usually" enjoyed talking their plans over with their mother.

A relationship in support of the research prediction was found to characterize males in the communication variable of "Do you go to other people outside the family for advice rather than to your mother?". While 7.1% NRND and 28.6% NRD reported "frequently or always" a much higher proportion of R (66.7%) indicated this response. Females, also reported some difference between groups, although not as dramatic and not differentiating the runaway. Those reporting they "frequently or always" went to people outside for advice included 44.4% R, 41.7% NRD and 27.3% NRND.

Communication with father

A relationship lending support to the research prediction characterized males in their response to the question "Do you confide in your father when you get into some kind of trouble?". One hundred percent of each group of R and NRD reported they confided "very few or no problems" to their father compared to only 33.3% NRND. Table 18 reports

the results.

TABLE 18

Father's Communication - Male

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
All problems	0	0	25% (3)	3
Some problems	0	0	41.7% (5)	5
Few or no problems	100% (5)	100% (6)	33.3% (4)	15
Column Total	5	6	12	23

A relationship in the direction of the research prediction characterized females along this variable. While 44% NRND reported they confided "all or most" problems in their father, 0% of both R and NRD responded in this category. Results are reported in Table 19.

TABLE 19

Father's Communication - Female

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
All problems	0	0	44.4% (4)	3
Some problems	0	0	0	5
Few problems	100% (6)	100% (6)	55.6% (5)	16
Column Total	6	6	12	24

The communication variable of "do you enjoy talking your plans over with your father" was also a significant relationship according to the research prediction for the male population. While 83.3% of NRND reported they "always or usually" enjoyed talking their plans over with their father only 16.3% of NRD and 0% of R reported similarly. Results are presented in Table 20.

TABLE 20

Father's Communication - Male

	R	NRD	NRND	Row Total
Usually	0	16.7% (1)	83.3% (10)	11
Sometimes	33.3% (2)	16.7% (1)	8.3% (1)	4
Seldom	66.7% (4)	66.7% (4)	8.3% (1)	9
Column Total	6	6	12	24

A trend supporting the research prediction was shown for females on this variable. Those reporting they "usually" enjoyed talking their plans over with their father included 55.6% NRND but only 27.3% NRD and 0% R. Fourty percent R and 36.4% NRD compared to only 22.2% NRND reported they "never" enjoyed discussing their plans.

A strong trend in support of the research prediction was indicated for both males and females on the variable "Do you go to other people outside the family for advice rather than to your father?". While only 16.7% of male NRND responded that they "frequently or always" went to

other people, 33.3% of NRD and 66.7% R responded similarly. Of the female population 40% R and 54.5% NRD reported they "often or frequently" went outside the family for advice compared to only 11.1% NRND.

Summary of Communication Variables

The quality and quantity of communication between parent and adolescent appears to be an important variable differentiating R and usually NRD males and females from their NRND counterparts.

Female runaways and NRD reported similar responses which were generally different from NRND females and in the direction of more negative communication with both mother and father.

The only variable in which male runaways did not support the research prediction was in their report of the number of problems they confided in their mother. In this instance both R and NRND reported they did not confide "most" problems in their mother.

Additional Family and Adolescent Relationship Variables

Three general questions were also asked adolescents which included their perceptions of the happiness of their parents' relationship, how happy they perceived their childhood to have been and how popular they felt themselves to be.

Some degree of difference existed within groups in their perception of their parents' relationship. Those perceiving their parents to have a "happy" relationship included in the male group: 78.6% NRND, 71.4% NRD but only 40% R. Of the families, 90% NRND, 72.7% NRD and only 42.9% R perceived it to be "happy".

Almost no difference was found between groups on perceived happiness of their childhood. Approximately 70% of each group perceived it

to be "average or okay" with the remainder feeling it to be "very happy".

Interesting results were obtained for males as to how popular they perceived themselves to be. While only 7.1% NRND and 14.3% NRD felt themselves to be "very popular", 42.9% of male R felt they were. Females were characterized by little difference between groups with approximately 75% in each group perceiving their popularity to be "about average".

Peer Influence and Runaway Behavior

As suggested in Chapter Two, the variables of peer influence and personality traits aid in determining the behavior manifestation of an adolescent's feelings of alienation. The presence and accessibility of peer groups with similar difficulties at home and previous experience with running away provide a support structure as well as a learning experience for the runaway behavior.

This research provides support for this idea that runaways are characterized as having more friends who have also run away. Within the male group 100% of runaway adolescents as compared to only 18.6% of NRD and 21.4% of NRND said they had friends who had run away from home. Within the female group results went in somewhat of a different direction. While 66.7% of runaways said they had friends who had run away, a slightly higher 91.7% of NRD stated they did. NRND were characterized by a slightly less 45.5% who had runaway friends. Thus within the categories of NRD and NRND a considerably higher percentage of females than males reported having runaway friends.

Adolescent Personality Variables

It was predicted, based on the literature review and theoretical model, that runaway adolescents would perceive and report themselves to be less self-confident, less personally adjusted and exhibiting lower degrees of abasement, less self-control and ability for affiliation and intraception than nonrunaways. As well, runaways would report greater degrees of autonomy, need for change and greater propensities towards aggression.

Of the tests of the predictions related to the ten scales of Gough's and Heilbrun's Adjective Check List, two tests reported statistical significance while one verged on significance. These included aggression, self-control and the need for change. (See Table 21.) While aggression and the need for change showed the runaway as differing from both groups of nonrunaways, a low level of self-control characterized both runaways and nonrunaways with desire to run -- thus this variable does not support the hypothesis.

Although tests of the other variables did not reach statistical significance, differences were shown between the groups. Runaways scored somewhat lower than nonrunaways on personal adjustment while both runaways and nonrunaways with desire scored somewhat higher than those with no desire on autonomy.

Gough and Heilbrun, in description of the ACL, suggest that an individual who scores high on "aggressiveness" can be described as strong, impulsive and often under controlled. Those who are low on self-control can be characterized as headstrong, irresponsible, narcisstic and impulsive as well as inadequately socialized. They suggest that those dominated by a need for change are perceptive, alert, spontaneous and welcome the challenges to be found in disorder and complexity.

Table 21.

Summary of the Analysis of Variance of the Dependent Variables of Self - Perception and the Mean Scores by Group

VARIABLE	GROUP				
	Runaway	Non Runaway with Desire	Non Runaway with No Desire	F Ratio	F Prob
Self - Confidence	47.65	48.00	49.04	0.167	p 0.846
Lability	55.87	56.25	51.41	1.779	p 0.178
Personal Adjustment	41.43	47.00	46.87	1.715	p 0.178
Self - Control	38.93	38.20	46.29	6.334	p 0.003
Introspection	48.50	49.50	51.45	0.396	p 0.674
Affiliation	48.81	51.55	51.08	0.374	p 0.689
Abasement	49.43	50.20	50.04	0.033	p 0.968
Change	55.68	51.95	49.50	2.665	p 0.078
Autonomy	55.37	55.75	51.79	1.226	p 0.301
Aggressiveness	61.12	55.00	50.33	6.776	p 0.002

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to understand possible family environmental and personality variables which may motivate an adolescent to run away from home. Previous research focusing on the adolescent runaway provided evidence for the primacy of the family in influencing runaway behavior. Developmental theory within a systems framework was utilized to provide an understanding of cultural and developmental influences upon the family which affect family dynamics and act to either discourage or support adolescent need fulfillment. A psychological state of alienation was suggested to characterize the runaway adolescent as a result of social-structural alienation from their families. It was also suggested that nonrunaway adolescents strongly desiring to run away would also report this social structural alienation by perceiving similiar family environmental conditions as runaway adolescents. The differentiating factor between the two groups it was suggested, would be seen in reported personality characteristics with the runaway adolescent reporting a personality which would direct alienation into runaway behavior in an attempt to seek psychological equilibrium.

Cross-tabulation analysis was utilized to compare adolescents with varying propensities to runaway, on family environmental characteristics while a one way analysis of variance with an F test compared adolescents as to self perceived personality characteristics.

The discussion focuses upon the major results obtained which relate to the research predictions. Limitations of the study and implications

for future research are also discussed.

Research Predictions

Sample characteristics

Characteristics of family structural elements of R, NRD and NRND appeared to exhibit no major differences between the groups. Middle and youngest children characterized the majority of each sample group with the mean number of children in families of all groups approximately 3.4.

Only 10% more runaways than NRD or NRND reported having a family not characterized by both natural parents. However, when one considers that this is 38% of the runaway sample it appears to be fairly high. This however, is in keeping with the suggestion of the vast majority of literature on runaways, that their families are characterized by higher percentages of breakdown.

The contention by Shellow (1967) that runaway behavior is a phenomenon of all social class levels of families, is supported by this research. In fact, while runaways reported 39% of their fathers to be in either a professional or a white collar occupation, only 11.1% of NRD and 23.8% of NRND reported this. Runaways also reported having fewer mothers who assumed the full time job of homemaker. While 32% of NRD and 38% of NRND had mothers who stayed at home a slightly less 21% of R reported this.

While overall grade average for the three groups was similar, the only two respondents who reported experiencing failure were runaway adolescents.

Prediction #1: Runaway adolescents and those strongly desiring to run away will perceive less acceptance by their parents and report less acceptance of them than nonrunaways with no desire.

While several of the acceptance variables for males and females were characterized by relationships in support of the prediction, other variables supported a relationship contrary to the prediction and are in need of explanation.

In the two variables of acceptance of their mother, female R responded in opposite directions for each variable. They reported far greater acceptance of their mother than their NRD or NRND counterparts in desiring to change fewer things about her. In fact 78% reported they would change nothing about her as compared to only 42% NRD and 50% NRND reporting similiarly. Yet on the second variable of acceptance, a majority and a greater percentage of R and NRD than NRND reported that they felt "Oh, what's the use" with their mother "fairly often" - a relationship in support of the prediction. The differences in runaway's responses could be attributed to the fact that a large percentage of families of runaways appear to be characterized by restriction and authoritarianism as perceived by reported discipline and control variables, in this research, as well as previous research on runaways (Brennan, 1978). This restrictiveness and protectiveness may contribute to over-identification with the mother. Within the authoritarian family, conformity to or identification with values, attitudes or behaviors of the parental figure is demanded. The overprotectiveness protects the adolescent from exposure to other identification sources. Stierlen's (1974) binding mode of separation presented in the literature review, suggests that parentally induced guilt is generated in the child if they attempt to reduce their

loyalty to their parent. During childhood, overprotectiveness may produce little conflict with the female's strong identification with her mother aiding in development of a female's sex role identity. However, when this same strong identification is demanded when the adolescent is striving for independence and their own self-identity, confusion and guilt on the adolescent's part is experienced.

Males did not exhibit this similiar degree of high acceptance or over-identification with their mother and it is not expected that they would since they are not subject to society's "overprotection of the female." As well one's strongest identification occurs with the same sex parent. Brennan (1978) also found that parents of female runaways gave significantly higher scores for protectiveness than parents of male runaways.

In an authoritarian family, two way interaction between parent and adolescent is negatively reinforced in the conviction that the adolescent should accept unquestionably the parents' word for what is right. Therefore, the variable of feeling "Oh, what's the use" with a parent may act as a communication rather than an acceptance variable. Both female and male runaways reported feeling "Oh, what's the use" considerably more often than NRD or NRND.

The considerably higher percentages of male and female R and NRD than NRND who felt their mother "very often" said and did things to make them feel not trusted is also in keeping with the idea that these families may be characterized by overrestriction. Thus, this variable could be said to be a control rather than an acceptance variable.

On the remaining variables, adolescents appeared to feel accepted by their mother with the majority reporting her to be interested in them as well as encouraging them to discuss their problems. One would

tend to assume, however, that there was interest and encouragement only if the adolescent was conforming to parental demands and expectations and not attempting to develop a separate rather than family identity.

Male and female R and NRD reported low acceptance of their father and by their father. Only one variable of the female response does not support this low acceptance. While 63.6% of NRD and 55.6% of NRND reported they felt "Oh, what's the use with their father," "often," only 20% of R reported this. One reason which could be advanced for this result and supported by the communication variables is that R females have considerably less contact with their father than NRD or NRND females. If the family is characterized by restrictiveness and authoritarianism traditional roles of the mother as the socializing agent and the father as the provider may be adhered to very rigidly.

Male runaways and NRD especially reported considerably greater differences than NRND in feeling a lack of interest and trust in them from their father as well as a lack of encouragement to discuss problems. This supports Bronfenbrenner's (1969) contention that boys require a high level of support from fathers for satisfactory development to proceed.

Prediction #2: Runaway adolescents and those strongly desiring to run away will perceive and report their parents as being more punishing than those having no desire to run away.

A similar response was given by female R and NRD on a discipline variable as that given on a variable of acceptance which was suggested as characterizing "overidentification" of the female with her mother. A greater number of runaways (77.8%) and NRD (66.7%) than NRND (40%) felt their mothers to be "usually or always" fair about punishment.

In general, however, both male and female R felt their parents to punish fairly and seldom more severely than other parents punished. The differentiating group usually was the NRD who in the male group reported less fairness and more severity as to their father's discipline and more severity on the part of their mother than R or NRND.

The unusually high perception of fairness and lack of severity in discipline by runaways does not appear to be in syncrony with their reports of greater use of parental punishment of a love withdrawal or denial of privileges mode. Parents of both R and NRD were reported to scold and nag continuously, more often than parents of NRND adolescents. Female R and NRD reported greater parental use of denial of privileges, which male NRD reported also. Female runaways felt that their parents made them feel unloved when they misbehaved. High percentages of both male and female R and NRD reported their parents made them feel they had hurt them with their misbehavior. Compared to R and NRD, NRND adolescents reported greater parental use of principled discipline -- discussing the misbehavior rather than punishing it. Thus, the prediction is supported that parents of R and NRD will be more punishing than NRND.

The type and amount of punishment perceived by the adolescent R suggests that they may have a distorted perception of the fairness of parental punishment. This distorted perception may be the result of self-blame or self-punishment. If runaways are characterized by a restrictive, authoritarian family structure, as this research and much of the literature suggests, the striving of an adolescent for independence and a separate identity is a threat to the family stability. This may cause parents to react by utilizing increased "love withdrawal" techniques of punishment. These techniques encourage feelings of guilt with-

in the adolescent for attempting to separate themselves. These feelings of guilt result in self-blame or self-punishment and a rationale that the punishment is deserved. The conflict and frustration resulting from wanting to maintain a dependent relationship with one's parents yet wanting to attain independence, cannot be vented within the family, for fear of the consequences. Thus, the adolescent escapes from the source of conflict.

Conger (1977) suggests also, that girls are more likely to consider their parents' rules to be fair, right or lenient. This could be due to the fact that girls, socialized to a greater degree than males into being dependent and subservient are taught to feel that behavior in any other direction is justifiably punishable.

Prediction #3: Runaway males and those strongly desiring to run away will report the least amount of parental control while runaway females and those strongly desiring to run away will report the most amount of parental control.

The research prediction held true for NRD females but was not supported by male and female runaways of males NRD. Both R and NRD expressed dissatisfaction with the amount of freedom they were given on "whom to date," "when to get home at night" and "ability to argue with parents." However while the majority of male and female NRD perceived too little freedom from both mother and father, greater discrepancies existed within the reports of runaways. While the majority of R females desired more freedom a small percentage wanted less freedom. Males were approximately evenly divided between desiring more or less freedom.

A reason for the differences within the group of runaways could

be explained through reference to the control and strain theories presented in the literature review.

Control theory views deviant behavior as the result of socialization processes which produce weak personal commitments to family or societal norms. In part, the lack of internalization of these norms is due to lax or inconsistent control within the family. Tait (1962) suggests that many delinquents can be characterized by this lax control. Thus, the seven delinquents - 4 males, 3 females - characterizing this sample may be those who are perceiving too much freedom within their family.

Strain theory, on the other hand, focuses upon factors that erode bonds which once were strong. This theory fits with the restrictive family which appears to characterize many runaways who are not delinquent. Family members within a closed-type authoritarian family have possibly a much stronger family identity and bonds than more open family until the adolescent stage emerges with its demands for change. Thus, adolescents perceiving too much control would fit into this model.

Wolk and Brandon (1977) who reported runaway males to be characterized by a lack of control within their families obtained their sample from a runaway house. Brennan (1978) suggests that runaway houses may be targeted toward a particular segment of the runaway population. He refers to the type of runaways who do use them as "casual hedonists". These adolescents are characterized by a family background in which fairly lax control would appear to exist. Brennan states that parents as well as the adolescent have a casual attitude. They have a low rate of calling the police, and they are almost minimally involved in attempting to locate and return the child home.

Prediction #4: Runaway adolescents and those strongly desiring to run away will perceive a more negative parental disposition than those who have never desired to run away.

Female runaways and those with a desire to run supported the prediction in regards to their mother's disposition by reporting her as more moody and easily upset as well as more difficult to please, than NRND females. Female runaways also perceived their mother as more often "taking it out on them."

Males however, especially runaways, generally perceived their mother as having a fairly positive disposition. This result could be due in part to society's socialization of the male. The empathy and sensitivity to other people's feelings which is encouraged in the female is discouraged in the male. Within an authoritarian family structure where male and female roles are often rigid and built upon a male provider female supporter structure the attempt to socialize the female into this "emotional" role and the male into this "strength" role may be much stronger than in a democratic family structure. Elenewski (1974) suggested that male runaways showed low regard for the feelings of others. As well Bassis (1973) found males to be relatively insensitive to the needs of others.

While male R perceived a fairly positive mother's disposition, a slightly more negative father's disposition was reported. This could possibly be due to the fact that the father, being the same sex parent, is looked to more for support, encouragement and an identity figure than the mother is for the male. The male would thus be more perceptive and aware of the father's moods.

Female runaways as with the male group, reported the opposite sex

parent to be characterized by a positive disposition. Considerable discrepancies existed between runaways and her NRD and NRND counterparts with the runaway female perceiving her father to a much greater degree as "easy to please," "seldom moody" and "rarely taking it out on her." This characteristic of the runaway female was seen previously in a variable of acceptance in which a lower percentage of R than NRD or NRND reported ever feeling, "Oh, what's the use" with their father. Again this result could possibly be due to higher levels of self-criticism on the part of the runaway female or it could be the result of the fact that the father is not the major socializing parent for the female. Within the runaway family there may be less contact and communication between the female and her father. Results reported from this research on the variables of communication would tend to confirm this idea.

Prediction #5: Runaway adolescents and those strongly desiring to run away will perceive and report a greater lack of communication with their parents than adolescents not desiring to run away.

Communication appears to be a major variable differentiating the parent-adolescent relationship of the R and NRD from the NRND, thus the research prediction can be confirmed. The strongest relationships characterizing this weakened communication appeared for both males and females in the following variables:

1) discussing plans with parents;
2) confiding in father (100% of male R and NRD) reported they confided few or no problems in their father;
3) going to people outside for advice rather than to their mother or father.

This lack of communication between parent and adolescent especially

an "inability to discuss plans with parents" suggests also a closed family structure in which change is perceived as a threat. The control variable of "freedom to argue" with parents in which R and NRD perceived too little freedom, is also a communication variable, supporting the idea of a closed family structure in which an adolescent's striving for independence may be stifled.

Prediction #6: Runaway adolescents will perceive and report themselves to be less self-confident, less personally adjusted and exhibiting higher degrees of abasement, less self-control and ability for affiliation and intraception than nonrunaway adolescents.

While all personality variables suggested did not support the prediction, differences on several variables were shown between the groups. The major variables differentiating runaways from NRD and NRND included personal adjustment, aggressiveness and a need for change. Both R and NRD differed significantly from NRND on the variable of self-control.

This research appears to conform to the suggestion by many sociologically oriented studies (Goldmeier and Dean, 1973) and others who perceive the runaway adolescent as exhibiting little difference in degree of self-confidence and social orientation as compared to the nonrunaway. One would tend to think that in order to be able to take risks and act assertively in attempting escape from what is hindering their needs, that some degree of self-confidence would be needed, especially for a female. While a restrictive environment may hinder an adolescent's emerging needs for independence and identity, the more basic needs of love and belonging, security and acceptance, important to development of self-confidence may not necessarily be denied. In fact, during the

formative years of childhood, a protective environment may fulfill these needs to a greater degree than an unprotective environment. This research suggested that these needs may have been fulfilled by runaways, since they perceived fairly high acceptance of and by their mother.

According to the variables of the ACL which correlate positively with self-confidence, a self-confident person is one who is determined, aggressive, persistent and courageous. These qualities would appear necessary for a person about to exchange the known for the unknown.

This research also perceived a somewhat greater degree of lability within the R and NRD than the NRND. An individual with a high degree of lability is one who is excitable, restless, nervous and to whom change and new experiences are compelling. These factors would also appear to be suggestive of individuals with some degree of confidence with the ACL describing an unconfident person as one who is lazy, cautious and patient. This is suggestive of an individual who would adjust to a situation or wait for change to happen.

Wolk and Brandon (1977) as well as this study report the runaway adolescent as exhibiting low scores on personal adjustment. However when one views the correlates of the ACL with negative personal adjustment -- stubborn, dissatisfied, intolerant -- they may be more a reflection of healthy adjustment on the part of the adolescent. An adolescent who is stubborn and who feels dissatisfaction and intolerant with a home environment which he feels is hindering his needs may display a greater persistence in attempting to seek a means of fulfilling these needs.

It was suggested that personality factors as well as peer group support would influence whether alienation was directed into runaway behavior. Thus both these factors would be differentiating variables between runaways and those with a desire to run away.

Although male R and NRD exhibit similar tendencies towards a lack of self-control as compared to the NRND, R's exhibit a considerably higher tendency towards aggressiveness which may imply greater risk-taking and assertive self-direction. As well, 100% of male runaways reported they had friends who had run away compared to only 28.6% of NRD.

Within the female group, it appears that personality factors may have a greater influence than peer group support, in determining whether or not to run away. Both R and NRD females reported having more friends who had run away than NRND females. However, while 66.7% of R reported friends who had run, a somewhat higher 91.7% NRD reported similarly. Thus, traits of aggressiveness and need for change may overwhelm the peer group influence. This higher percentage reported by NRD females than NRD males may also be reflecting the fact that greater numbers of females run than males.

Summary of Research Predictions

Although not all predictions were supported, research results suggest that differences do exist between the parent-adolescent relationships of R and NRD as compared to NRND. Differences appear to exist especially on factors of control, punishment, parental disposition, communication and acceptance of and by father. The direction appears to be generally in a more restrictive home environment for both R and NRD. It was suggested that where less control appears to exist, this may be characterizing the delinquent runaway.

Conflicting responses characterized acceptance of and by mother with both R and NRD perceiving fairly high acceptance on some variables and low acceptance on others. It was suggested that the variables char-

acterized by low acceptance "Do you think 'Oh, what's the use,' when trying to explain your conduct to your (mother, father)?" and "My (mother, father) says and does things that make me feel I am not trusted," were communication and control variables rather than acceptance. Thus, assessing acceptance by the remaining variables, a fairly high level of acceptance of their mother and by their mother was reported for all groups.

Within the personality variables, R and NRD exhibited differences from NRND on traits of self-control while R exhibited differences from both NRD and NRND on traits of personal adjustment, aggressiveness and need for change. As well, runaway males reported having more friends who had run away.

In summary, there appears to be evidence for social-structural impetus for alienation which in turn may produce a psychological state of alienation. There also appears to be evidence for the idea that runaway behavior may be in part, the result of interaction between adolescent personality traits, peer group support and environmental factors.

Limitations

Four limiting factors were found to characterize this research and form the basis of this discussion. These include: the small sample size; instruments used; factors involved in administration of the instrument; and the runaway sample itself.

It would appear that this research faces a similar problem characteristic of much of the research that has been done on runaways -- that of a small sample size. As Walker (1975) points out there are only a handful of studies in which the sample size is over 80 youths. This factor limits the possibility of generalizing findings to the represen-

tative population of runaways. Particularly when using multiple sources of runaways, a fairly large sample size is needed in order to be able to determine whether all "types" of runaways really are similiar and the contribution of each "type" of runaway to the total research results. This small sample size also prevented the researcher from going beyond a descriptive analysis.

The second limiting factor was the runaway sample itself. Information was obtained from thirteen of the sixteen runaway adolescents after the runaway event, making it more difficult to infer relationships. This factor could have accounted for many of the very positive perceptions which the adolescents, especially the females, had towards acceptance of parents and perceived fairness of discipline. As a result of the runaway act, the parent-adolescent relationship may have changed in a more positive direction or the adolescent as a result of guilt feelings for their behavior may be overcompensating by reporting their parents in a more positive light. Another possibly limiting factor within the sample of runaways was the use of "delinquent" adolescents. Did this "delinquency"come before or after the runaway event? If the adolescent is a delinquent it may mean they possess personality characteristics quite different than those of the runaway. Delinquency implies a lack of internal integration of society's norms as well as an anti-social aggressiveness which seeks to destroy or to hurt. The runaway, by simply escaping, is certainly not any of these things -- rather the act may be interpreted as healthy adjustment. Thus, the factors of personal adjustment, self-control, aggressiveness and need for change which were found to be the most significant variables in personality differences between the groups, may have been biased by the inclusion of de-

linquent adolescents. Screening devices should possibly have been built into the questionnaire or the interview to determine when the "delinquent" behavior occurred and to what extent the adolescent had participated in anti-social acts.

The sample also led to a limitation associated with the administration of the questionnaire. Adolescents from the adolescent group home were found to exhibit a very limited attention span and vocabulary. Thus, they required considerable help in completing the questionnaire. Often it was felt by the researcher that they were reporting "socially acceptable" responses, in part because these responses were acceptable and because they required little introspection or analysis on their part. The personality test especially, should be done completely on one's own in order to ensure honest responses, however this was not possible with the level of vocabulary used in the ACL.

Within the schools, factors were also present which may have biased the results obtained. Questionnaire completion time for adolescents who pre-tested it ranged from 45-60 minutes. However a vast majority of students from one school were finished within 20 to 30 minutes. This raises questions concerning the thought put into completing the questionnaire. As the questionnaire was administered only a few days before the school term finished, students were restless and in a fairly lacksadasical mood. Some difficulty was also experienced with the vocabulary in the ACL especially with the younger adolescents from the junior high. Although they appeared very conscientious about asking and understanding definitions of words it is not known the extent that this factor may have hindered results -- either as a result of misinterpreting words or ignoring those not understood.

The previous factor is related to the fourth limitation -- that of instrumentation. Although the ACL is a convenient test in that completion time is short and many diverse traits are measured which have particular relevance to runaway behavior, it is questionable whether the vocabulary level is suitable for adolescents especially in the lower age group.

The use of Nye's Family Relationship scale as a measure of alienation for this research is also queried in that it was an indirect measure. With the focus on "alienation" it may have been wise to utilize a more direct measure such as Keniston's Alienation Scales (1965) either along with or instead of Nye's instrument. This would have measured the built-in assumption of this research that the adolescent runaway is exhibiting feelings of powerlessness, normlessness and worthlessness.

The fifth limitation to be discussed is the method of analysis chosen. In Nye's use of his scale, considerably more variables within each scale existed so that it was possible to derive a score for each person characterizing them on each scale. However the limitations posed by data collection and the purpose of the research did not enable this type of analysis. As only 60 minutes -- the length of a class period -- was available for questionnaire administration it meant that only a few scales could be utilized or all scales but with fewer variables within each. As this is an exploratory study looking at the broad perspective of family factors which may impinge upon the adolescent, all scales but with fewer variables were utilized. Although scores could still have been derived they would have had little meaning and it would have been incorrect to assume they measured a pervasive state of acceptance, dis-

cipline or communication. A more descriptive picture of the home environment can be derived by looking at each variable separately. As well, it is questioned whether certain of Nye's variables do in fact measure the scales they profess to. As stated previously is not "Do you feel "Oh, what's the use" when you explain your conduct to your parents" a communication measurement rather than an acceptance measure? Thus while the type of analysis chosen represents a limitation it is also a strength in that it provides a broader perspective for future research.

Implications for Future Research

Although it was not possible to determine whether "statistically significant" relationships existed between the variables, upon the strength of the differences shown it is possible to suggest areas which may merit further research. The areas to be discussed include: more intensive theoretical study and research application of the interrelationships of variables presented in the model of runaway alienated behavior; parental reports of the family dynamics; a comparison of the various "types" of runaways; and a greater understanding of the adolescent with a strong desire to run away but who doesn't.

The research model

As a result of the limited scope possible with this research, only tentative support could be suggested for a few of the variables interrelated in the model of alienation (Figure 6, p. 25). It would appear that factors of punishment, control and communication within the parent-adolescent relationship may play a role in runaway behavior. What, however are the mechanisms between the parent and adolescent which deter-

mine the degree of punishment and control utilized and quality of communication experienced? The model presents three broad factors which may influence the parent-adolescent relationship -- cultural influences, individual developmental needs and conflicts and parental maladjustment. Differences were found in this research between R and NRND reports of their parents' dispositions with the R report being more negative. Other research has also been suggested which supports this. More intensive research needs to be done however, to determine if this does necessarily mean the parent is maladjusted. Are they, as suggested in Stierlin's model (p. 47) thwarting their child's development -- either unconsciously or consciously to fulfill their own unmet needs, ambitions or realizations. Much theoretical support exists for the impingement of present-day cultural influences upon the family and the strain created within, as well as the more direct impact of culture upon the adolescent through determining his somewhat unfulfilling and unstructured position and role within society.

Indirectly it could be assumed that since the family is the major socializing unit, if internal conflict strain or inadequate socialization practices exist the adolescent will likely have greater difficulty achieving developmental needs. However, more specific direct measures need to be used to assess whether the runaway does in fact exhibit this difficulty.

The model suggests that as a result of family internal structural deficits which thwart the adolescent's needs, they experience a lack of integration and commitment to the family which is exhibited through feelings of "powerlessness, worthlessness, normlessness and meaninglessness." As stated in the limitations a sociologically oriented test of aliena-

tion could measure an adolescent's feelings of being "not a part of" their environment while a "psychologically" oriented test could measure their feelings of being "not a part of" themselves. These two tests would thus give evidence of whether in actuality runaway behavior can be linked to the concept of alienation. Theoretical support has lent credence to alienation and its relationship to deviant behaviors such as drug abuse and delinquency but has only lightly touched upon runaway behavior.

Another factor of the model which needs to be measured is that of frustration. It has been assumed in this research that anyone desirous of escape would be feeling frustration. However, are runaways feeling frustration and if so what is its nature and degree -- is it frustration at unmet needs, a personality trait of "a need for change," inability to wait for desired outcomes or a need for excitement and adventure as a result of adolescent's unchallenging and unfulfilling placement within the societal structure which includes the school system -- an adolescent's second major socializing unit.

While the research does provide evidence for the runaway displaying certain personality traits which one can certainly see would be related to enabling alienation to be directed outwards, in order to clarify this last variable of the model it would have to be determined whether "alienation" does in fact characterize other forms of adjustive behavior and whether each form of behavior can be correlated with a distinct personality type.

Parental reports

It appears that the majority of research that has been done on the runaway has focused solely on the adolescents' reports. Although it is

the individual's perception of a situation which holds meaning for them this perception may be a distorted reality. It could possibly be that factors within other systems such as the school play a greater impact in frustrating an adolescent's needs. Parents however, may become convenient scapegoats for adolescent frustration. It may be this adolescent frustration from outside sources that impedes communication with the parent or acts upon the parent to display a more negative disposition and impose more or less control and discipline. Thus, it is necessary to also obtain parental reports of the family dynamics in order to formulate a more realistic picture of the runaway and to determine whether the family does in fact play a primary role.

Research of runaway parents could also help in determining what is needed in providing help and support to the parent. While most literature focuses on the types of help that need to be offered to runaways the parent is a relatively neglected yet blamed participant. They are the object of research without having a voice in it. The adolescent is perceived as suffering while the parent is the culprit. However in actuality both parent and adolescent could be perceived as suffering with the more pervasive cultural influences the culprit. This research found all groups to be characterized by a fairly high or average acceptance of and by their parents suggesting that it may be cultural and societal influences such as rapid change, increased technology and anonymity which have impinged upon the family creating parental confusion as to child rearing expectations. Societal forces acting to draw family members apart act to lessen contact between parent and adolescent thereby hindering communication and possibly creating a parental feeling that they have little control over the development of their adolescent.

Thus, more research needs to be done not only into the parental view of the family dynamics but the degree of confusion or conflict they are experiencing as a result of societal strains. It may be the parent rather than the adolescent who is in need of far more support, rather than blame.

Comparison of "types" of runaways

Considerably more research is needed into the various "types" of runaways and then a comparison done to explore possible similarities and differences in environmental factors as well as personality traits. While an exploratory study looking at the runaway population in general can provide a broad picture of the runaway adolescent and point to areas which may merit further research, it cannot describe the runaway in any other but general terms. The characteristics of one "type" of runaway and their environment may be totally different than those of another "type." Thus, research results may provide a picture that is true of neither. Differences may exist between the adolescent who runs once or several times, between the "street" runaway, the "delinquent" runaway, the runaway who frequents half-way houses and the "healthy" or "unhealthy" runaway. As this research suggests, differences may exist between the "delinquent" runaway and the "nondelinquent" runaway.

Nonrunaways with a strong desire to run

Adolescents with a strong desire to run away were found to characterize approximately fifty per cent of the nonrunaway population. These adolescents perceived similar factors such as lack of communication, and restrictive control within their home environment as perceived by runaways. Often in fact, nonrunaways with a desire to run reported greater degrees of lack of communication, and unfair and more

severe discipline than runaways. This suggests that more research needs to be aimed at this group of adolescents -- why is the desire to run away so prevalent and what is the behavioral manifestation of their feelings of alienation or dissatisfaction and discontent.

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APPENDIX: A

QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain information as to your attitudes concerning running away from home. Your answers will be kept strictly confidential. Do not put your name on any of the pages. Please answer each question by circling the number preceding your response or by writing in the blank space. Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire -- your help is greatly appreciated!

1. Sex
   1. Male
   2. Female
2. Grade
   1. Ninth
   2. Tenth
   3. Eleven
   4. Twelve
3. Age at last birthday
   1. 14
   2. 15
   3. 16
   4. 17
   5. 18
4. Grade point average at the moment
   1. A
   2. B
   3. C
   4. D
   5. F

5. Father's Occupation

   Indicate on the line below the name of your father's present job or the title of his position (not the firm where he is employed)

   _____

6. Mother's Occupation

   Indicate on the line below the name of your mother's present job or the title of her position (not the firm where she is employed)

   _____

7. Are you currently living with

   1. your natural parents
   2. your father and step-mother
   3. your mother and step-father
   4. your father only
   5. your mother only
   6. other _____

8. Total number of children in your family (include yourself _____

9. Your position in the family

   1. only child
   2. oldest child
   3. middle child of three or more
   4. youngest child

10. Taking all things into consideration, how happy would you rate your childhood?

    1. very unhappy
    2. unhappy
    3. average or okay
    4. very happy
    5. extremely happy

11. Have you ever run away from home since you were 10 years old?

    1. yes

    2. no

IF NO, GO ON TO QUESTION 19; IF YES, PROCEED TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

12. How many times have you run away?

    1. once

    2. twice

    3. three times

    4. more than three times

13. How long were you gone for the last time you ran away from home?

    1. a few days

    2. a week

    3. several weeks

    4. months

14. If you have run away several times what was the longest time you have been away for?

    1. a few days

    2. a week

    3. several weeks

    4. months

15. The last time you ran away how did you return home?

    1. police

    2. parents

    3. on your own

    4. other _____

16. When you last ran away how far did you go and where did you stay (youth hostel, friends, park, etc.)?

    _____

LEAF 143 OMITTED IN PAGE NUMBERING.

17. What was the cause or causes of your running away? (you can check more than one answer)

    1. problems with parents

    2. school problems

    3. problems with boyfriend or girlfriend

    4. the need for excitement and adventure

    5. the need for independence

    6. other reason(s) _____

18. Did running away help solve your problem? Briefly explain why or why not.

    _____

    _____

PLEASE GO ON TO QUESTION 23

ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTION ONLY IF YOU HAVE NEVER RUN AWAY FROM HOME

19. Have you ever thought of running away from home but have not (since you were 10 years old)?

    1. never

    3. once

    3. several times

    4. frequently

IF NEVER GO ON TO QUESTION 23. IF YOU HAVE THOUGHT OF RUNNING AWAY COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

20. How great was your urge to run away?

    1. strong desire

    2. moderate desire

    3. weak desire

21. What was the cause of causes of your desire to run away from home the last time you thought of it? (you can circle more than one answer)

    1. problems with parent(s)

    2. school problems

    3. problem with boyfriend or girlfriend

21 continued on next page

4. need for excitement and adventure
5. need for independence
6. other reason(s) _____

22. What prevented you from running away? (you can circle more than one)
1. no money
2. no where to go
3. too scary
4. parents would be worried
5. would miss friends or family
6. afraid to go alone
7. other reason(s) _____

23. Have you had any friends who have run away?
1. yes
2. no

IF YOU HAVE ANSWERED NO, GO ON TO QUESTION 26. IF YOU HAVE ANSWERED YES, PLEASE COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING.

24. Do you know why they ran away? If so briefly explain
friend #1 _____
_____
friend #2 _____
_____
friend #3 _____
_____

25. Do you think that running away had a positive or negative effect on them?
friend #1 _____
friend #2 _____
friend #3 _____

26. If it were possible to change real parents into ideal parents, what would you change about your mother?

    1. just about everything
    2. a large number of things
    3. a few things
    4. one or two things
    5. nothing

27. What would you change about your father?

    1. just about everything
    2. a large number of things
    3. a few things
    4. one or two things
    5. nothing

28. Do you think "Oh, what's the use!" after you have tried to explain your conduct to your mother?

    1. often
    2. sometimes
    3. seldom
    4. never

29. Do you think, "Oh, what's the use!" after you have tried to explain your conduct to your father?

    1. often
    2. sometimes
    3. seldom
    4. never

30. My mother is interested in what I do

    1. always
    2. usually
    3. sometimes
    4. seldom
    5. never

31. My father is interested in what I do
    1. always
    2. usually
    3. sometimes
    4. seldom
    5. never
32. My mother encourages me to discuss my problems with her
    1. always
    2. usually
    3. sometimes
    4. seldom
    5. never
33. My father encourages me to discuss my problems with him
    1. always
    2. usually
    3. sometimes
    4. seldom
    5. never
34. My mother says and does things that make me feel that I am not trusted
    1. very often
    2. frequently
    3. sometimes
    4. seldom
    5. never
35. My father says and does things that make me feel I am not trusted
    1. very often
    2. frequently
    3. sometimes
    4. seldom
    5. never

36. When my mother punishes me she is fair about it

    1. always
    2. usually
    3. sometimes
    4. seldom
    5. never

37. When my father punishes me he is fair about it

    1. always
    2. usually
    3. sometimes
    4. seldom
    5. never

38. I am punished when I don't deserve it by my mother

    1. very often
    2. fairly often
    3. sometimes
    4. seldom
    5. never

39. I am punished when I don't deserve it by my father

    1. very often
    2. fairly often
    3. sometimes
    4. seldom
    5. never

40. Do you think your mother disciplines you more severely than other mothers discipline their children?

    1. never
    2. seldom
    3. sometimes
    4. usually
    5. always

41. Do you think your father disciplines you more severely than other fathers discipline their children?

    1. never
    2. seldom
    3. sometimes
    4. usually
    5. always

42. When I do something my parents don't like they scold me:

    1. always
    2. usually
    3. seldom
    4. never

43. nag me continuously:

    1. never
    2. seldom
    3. usually
    4. always

44. reduce my allowance or fine me:

    1. always
    2. usually
    3. seldom
    4. never

45. refuse to let me go to entertainments or visit friends:

    1. always
    2. usually
    3. seldom
    4. never

46. spank, hit or beat me:
    1. always
    2. usually
    3. seldom
    4. never
47. don't punish me, but discuss the matter with me:
    1. always
    2. usually
    3. seldom
    4. never
48. make me feel they don't love me?
    1. always
    2. usually
    3. seldom
    4. never
49. make me feel that I am hurting them by my misbehavior:
    1. always
    2. usually
    3. seldom
    4. never
50. make fun or ridicule me:
    1. never
    2. seldom
    3. usually
    4. always
51. just ignore it:
    1. always
    2. usually
    3. seldom
    4. never

It is my opinion that my parents give me the following amount of freedom on the subjects below:

Whom I date:

52. mother gives
    1. too much freedom
    2. about right
    3. too little

53. father gives
    1. too much freedom
    2. about right
    3. too little

When to get home at night:

54. mother gives
    1. too little freedom
    2. too much
    3. about right

55. father gives
    1. too little freedom
    2. too much
    3. about right

Lets me argue with them:

56. mother gives
    1. too much freedom
    2. too little
    3. about right

57. father gives
    1. too much freedom
    2. too little
    3. about right

58. When my children are at the age that I am, I will give them the following amount of freedom
    1. much more than mother gives me
    2. a little more
    3. the same
    4. a little less
    5. much less

59. 1. much more than Father gives me
    2. a little more
    3. the same
    4. a little less
    5. much less

60. My mother allows me to go out to social events by myself
    1. anytime I wish
    2. usually
    3. sometimes
    4. seldom
    5. never

61. My father allows me to go out to social events by myself
    1. anytime I wish
    2. usually
    3. sometimes
    4. seldom
    5. never

62. How difficult is it to please your mother?
    1. very difficult
    2. quite difficult
    3. fairly easy
    4. very easy

63. How difficult is it to please your father?
    1. very difficult
    2. quite difficult
    3. fairly easy
    4. very easy

64. Is your mother ever moody?

1. always
2. very often
3. sometimes
4. seldom
5. never

65. Is your father ever moody?

1. always
2. very often
3. sometimes
4. seldom
5. never

66. When something goes wrong which had nothing to do with you, does your mother "take it out" on you?

1. very often
2. usually
3. sometimes
4. seldom
5. never

67. Does your father "take it out" on you?

1. very often
2. usually
3. sometimes
4. seldom
5. never

68. How easy is to to get your mother upset?

1. very easy
2. fairly easy
3. rather difficult
4. very difficult

69. How easy is it to get your father upset?

    1. very easy
    2. fairly easy
    3. rather difficult
    4. very difficult

70. I enjoy (or would enjoy) being at home for an evening's entertainment with my mother

    1. very much
    2. somewhat
    3. a little
    4. not at all

71. I enjoy (or would enjoy) being at home for an evening's entertainment with my father

    1. very much
    2. somewhat
    3. a little
    4. not at all

72. I enjoy (or would enjoy) going on trips with my mother

    1. always
    2. almost always
    3. seldom
    4. never

73. I enjoy (or would enjoy) going on trips with my father

    1. always
    2. almost always
    3. seldom
    4. never

74. Do you confide in your mother when you get into some kind of trouble?

1. all problems
2. most
3. some
4. few
5. none

75. Do you confide in your father when you get into some kind of trouble?

1. all problems
2. most
3. some
4. few
5. none

76. Do you enjoy talking over your plans with your mother?

1. always
2. usually
3. sometimes
4. seldom
5. never

77. Do you enjoy talking over your plans with your father?

1. always
2. usually
3. sometimes
4. seldom
5. never

78. I ask for advice about dating from my mother

1. always
2. frequently
3. sometimes
4. seldom
5. never

79. I ask for advice about dating from my father

    1. always
    2. frequently
    3. sometimes
    4. seldom
    5. never

80. Do you go to other people outside the family for advice rather than to your mother?

    1. seldom or never
    2. sometimes
    3. frequently
    4. always

81. Do you go to other people outside the family for advice rather than to your father?

    1. seldom or never
    2. sometimes
    3. frequently
    4. always

82. Do you perceive your parents' relationship to be

    1. very happy
    2. happy
    3. neither happy nor unhappy
    4. unhappy
    5. very unhappy

83. How well liked or popular do you consider yourself?

    1. not at all popular
    2. not as well liked as most
    3. about average
    4. very popular

84. Please read the following list and check those words which you feel describe you.

absent-minded ___
adventurous ___
ambitious ___
apathetic ___
active ___
adaptable ___
attractive ___
aggressive ___
aloof ___
argumentative ___
arrogant ___
assertive ___
autocratic ___
appreciative ___
affected ___
anxious ___
alert ___
boastful ___
bossy ___
blustery ___
bitter ___
conceited ___
confident ___
confused ___
cowardly ___
considerate ___
calm ___
clear thinking ___
curious ___
cynical ___
clever ___
conservative ___
commonplace ___
conscientious ___
courageous ___

cautious ___
cruel ___
cooperative ___
contented ___
changeable ___
careless ___
cheerful ___
conventional ___
despondent ___
dominant ___
discreet ___
dissatisfied ___
determined ___
defensive ___
dependent ___
distractible ___
daring ___
deliberate ___
dominant ___
energetic ___
egotistical ___
efficient ___
easy going ___
emotional ___
enthusiastic ___
excitable ___
enterprising ___
forgetful ___
fickle ___
forceful ___
forgiving ___
frank ___
fair minded ___
fore sighted ___
fearful ___

fussy ___
formal ___
gentle ___
good natured ___
gloomy ___
hardhearted ___
headstrong ___
healthy ___
highstrung ___
humorous ___
hasty ___
hostile ___
hardheaded ___
hurried ___
indifferent ___
insightful ___
intelligent ___
intolerant ___
inhibited ___
independent ___
impatient ___
imaginative ___
impulsive ___
industrious ___
ingenious ___
interests wide ___
interests narrow ___
individualistic ___
initiative ___
irritable ___
kind ___
lazy ___
leisurely ___
loyal ___
logical ___

loud ___
modest ___
mannerly ___
mild ___
meek ___
methodical ___
mature ___
moody ___
moderate ___
mischievous ___
noixy ___
nagging ___
nervous ___
opinionated ___
outspoken ___
obliging ___
optimistic ___
organized ___
pessimistic ___
poised ___
praising ___
patient ___
persistent ___
progressive ___
peaceable ___
pleasant ___
pleasure seeking ___
quiet ___
quarrelsome ___
quitting ___
relaxed ___
resentful ___
rebellious ___
reserved ___
retiring ___
rude ___

restless ___
restless ___
rigid ___
rational ___
reflective ___
realistic ___
self centered ___
sensitive ___
serious ___
shallow ___
sympathetic ___
self-confident ___
self-denying ___
self-punishing ___
shy ___
spineless ___
strong ___
stubborn ___
submissive ___
suggestible ___
spunky ___
sarcastic ___
spendthrift ___
stable ___
self-controlled ___
shiftless ___
sloppy ___
steady ___
sociable ___
soft-hearted ___
silent ___
spontaneous ___
self-pitying ___
tactful ___
tactless ___
talkative ___

thorough ___
thoughtful ___
thrifty ___
timid ___
tolerant ___
touchy ___
trusting ___
unkind ___
understanding ___
unselfish ___
unambitious ___
undependable ___
unconventional ___
uninhibited ___
unemotional ___
versatile ___
vindictive ___
warm ___
weak ___
wholesome ___
withdrawn ___
worrying ___